HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Is Conservation Sacred?

Why the Attacks On Gov. Hickel?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Alaska's lumber industry is but one of the many resources to be found in the 50th state. Hickel thinks that such wealth should be wisely utilized, rather than held in unnecessary federal land control under the guise of conservation.

The birds, the bees and the polar bears are real nice critters, but it's good to know that the new secretary of the interior won't rate them ahead of us human beings.

Alaska Gov. Walter Hickel, who will run the Interior Department, made this clear enough in his pre-Christmas press conference. He said he was against the Democratic policy of "conservation for conservation's sake." He was specifically talking about a vast animal refuge on Alaska's North Shore where there is also a multi-billion-barrel oil deposit.

Hickel's forthright jab at Interior Secretary Udall and the Democratic beast-before-business obsession right away brought rumbles from the majority party in the Senate where Hickel will have to be confirmed.

His nomination could stir up a fight there, and Mr. Nixon may be headed for the kind of rejection that President Eisenhower met when he nominated Adm. Lewis Strauss, another businessman's businessman, to be commerce secretary. [Sen. George McGovern has already said, "I think Mr. Hickel may be headed for a rough sea," and Sen. William Proxmire has demanded "clarification" of Mr. Hickel's views.]

Hickel is a chunky, energetic, bootstrap millionaire who earned his pile by providing hotel and banking services where there weren't any. It makes him an old-fashioned supply-and-demand economist, a refreshing throwback in these days when we've come to expect government administrators to converse in terms of the esoteric and the aesthetic.

It's become so that you're a Philistine if you dare to doubt that the New Frontier founded Camelot, Jackie Kennedy discovered Art, Lady Bird Johnson proclaimed Beauty, Secretary Udall implanted Physical Fitness and LBJ sculpted economic guidelines. These things are all very well, and so is conservation and so is wildlife husbandry, but government has gotten sicklied over with extraneous frippery.

If the big U.S. petroleum company can hit an oil bonanza, then some 200 million Americans will strike it rich. Any increase in the nation's wealth aims a harder blow at inflation than a whole academy of economists could deliver in their policy meetings.

Hickel was saying that Middle East oil comes to the American East Coast in foreign tankers more cheaply than Alaska oil could get there in U.S. bottoms. But Texas and Oklahoma engineers are helping to build a pipeline from the wilds of Iran to a Russian pickup port. This seems an extravagant waste of American know-how on two foreign nations. What's wrong with Alaska-to-Maine pipelines, and keep it in the family?

If we could use the new petroleum fields to become a major exporter, our merchant marine would get a tremendous lift that should allow it to lower freight rates. This in turn would justify a buildup of the U.S. Navy which a recent House report alarmingly showed to be losing headway to the Russians. Any opening up of winterized highways, airports and pumping stations in the northern reaches would call upon unskilled construction-type labor which has been our unemployment headache for years and which hasn't responded very much to the oh-so-intellectualized treatment in the manpower-training clinics.

If Secretary Hickel doesn't do anything more than take the ruffles off the sleeves of the Interior Department, he'll be worth his keep. The country would be well served if the idea got around to other Nixon Cabinet officers that they should help supply what's in demand and never mind the trimmings for a while.

In demand are grimy substances like domestic fuel, and more dead Communists in Viet Nam by the Defense Department, and more better-trained traffic controllers in the Federal Aviation Agency, and more inky-fingered government-to-people research in nearly every one of the executive departments.

All 12 of the Mr. Secretaries ought

Interior Secretary-designate Walter Hickel is coming under fire because he doesn't believe in conservation just for conservation's sake.

to be too busy to carry the daisy-chains that often have been their badges of office.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Why 'Community Control' of Schools Hasn't Worked
Page 15

It's Good to Have Pueblo Crew Back, But . . .
Page 9

American Businessman: Hero or Villain?
Page 12

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Contents

Some Predictions for 1969—By Edgar Ansel Mowrer.....5
As Nixon Examines His "Options"—By Gen. Thomas A. Lane.....6
Military Has Defense "Shopping List" for Nixon —From the Allen-Goldsmith Report.....7
Foreman Returns to House After Four Years —By Willard Edwards.....8
It's Nice to Have Pueblo Crew Back, But . . . —By Roy Colby.....9
Poverty and Social Disorder: Was It Planned That Way? —By Ralph de Toledano.....10
When Unions Come to School—By James J. Kilpatrick.....10
The Communists and the Campus Outbreaks —By John Chamberlain.....11
The Businessman—Hero or Villain?—By Dr. William H. Peterson.....12
The Case Against a U.N. "Ocean Regime"—By Alice Widener.....13
The Ten Pillars of Economic Wisdom.....13
Now Is No Time for a Summit Meeting—By Henry J. Taylor.....14
The Failure of "Community Control" —From the Bulletin of the Council for Basic Education.....15

Capital Briefs

● Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) has reportedly given up hope of having the nuclear **non-proliferation treaty** ratified by the Senate before President Johnson leaves office on January 20. LBJ, who looks upon the treaty as one of his prime accomplishments in office, had cherished hopes that it would be approved during his tenure. If the treaty is brought up in the first days of the 91st Congress, it will meet stiff opposition from Republican forces led by South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond. The GOP members argue that incoming President Nixon should decide the future of the vital nuclear treaty.

● As part of the $6-billion budget reduction Congress ordered last year before it would pass LBJ's 10 per cent surtax, the White House agreed to eliminate **115,000 federal civilian jobs** by not filling them when they become vacant. According to Capitol Hill reports, President Johnson will ask Congress to repeal this provision in his State of the Union message; he will claim that the job-cut is overly costly and has hindered "essential federal operations."

● Organized labor insiders say they will not be surprised if President Johnson should pardon imprisoned Teamster Union boss **Jimmy Hoffa** before LBJ leaves office. Hoffa is currently serving a 13-year sentence for jury tampering in Lewisburg (Pa.) federal penitentiary. Among those pushing for his release are Auto Workers chieftain Walter Reuther, who would like to see a freed Hoffa resume leadership of the Teamsters and ally the huge union with Reuther's anti-AFL-CIO American Labor Alliance.

● There is a good possibility that the Nixon Administration will finally end the lavish government support of the **Rural Electrification Administration** (REA) co-ops. The practice of granting REA federal loans at 2 per cent interest was begun in Depression days to speed the electrification of rural farm areas. But now that their original task is largely completed, state REA co-ops have long been using their low-interest federal funds to supply power to private industry and, in some cases, have been re-loaning the federal money at much higher interest rates. President-elect Nixon is not thought to look kindly on such dealings.

● **Mrs. Madalyn Murray O'Hair**, the much-traveled Baltimore atheist whose court suit resulted in removing prayer from public schools, has a new target: separation of Church and State in space. Seems Mrs. Murray was outraged at hearing the lunar-orbiting Apollo 8 astronauts reading passages from Genesis on Christmas Eve. Mrs. Murray, now a Texas resident, promptly announced she would file a complaint with the National Aeronautics and Space Agency.

● A federal court judge in California has struck a heavy blow in favor of **urban renewal critics** and, if his decision is upheld, will have forced federal planners to consult local residents before proceeding with their grandiose programs. The decision by San Francisco Judge William Sweigert halted funding of a $100-million urban renewal project in that city until the Department of Housing and Urban Development comes up with a relocation plan for uprooted families that is acceptable to the families.

● The radical **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS) has decided to forgo any demonstrations in the Nation's Capital during inaugural ceremonies for President-elect Richard Nixon. At their recently concluded national convention, SDS delegates voted overwhelmingly against the proposed demonstrations, with one member saying, "Before we do anything like this, we've got to ask ourselves whose heads are going to be busted." However, other New Left groups are expected to make an appearance in Washington during the inaugural festivities.

● In an article in the December 22 Washington Sunday Star, former Secretary of State **Dean Acheson** took the position, contrary to the views of most of his fellow liberals, that the United States should halt its attempts to intervene in Rhodesia's internal affairs. Interestingly, the article by the highly honored and respected Mr. Acheson was first offered to and turned down by the Washington Post and New York Times, as well as Life and Look magazines.

● **Wayne Morse,** the Oregon maverick who became a Senate institution during his 24 years of service in that body, has finally thrown in the towel. After demanding a recount and then threatening to take the matter into the courts, Morse last week forsook the battle and conceded defeat to Republican Robert Packwood in last November's election. The final tally showed Packwood with 408,645 votes to Morse's 405,382, a difference of less than 1 percentage point.

● A state court in the Soviet city of Leningrad is reported to have recently sentenced three Russian intellectuals to seven years imprisonment on charges of possessing and distributing "anti-Soviet" literature. Among the works cited in the case was Barry Goldwater's **Conscience of a Conservative.**

● Insiders in the Nixon entourage are convinced that the President-elect is determined to make transition of the federal postal service into a **non-profit corporation** a first order of business. These informants contend this is why Nixon chose Chamber of Commerce President Winton Blount as his postmaster general, since both Blount and the C-of-C are known to prefer a semi-privately controlled post office. For the record, however, Blount will only say this question will be one of the first he will consider following his confirmation by the Senate.

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Packard's East-West Trade Views

The selection of David Packard to be the Pentagon's No. 2 man in the Nixon Administration has raised eyebrows in the Nation's Capital. Packard, a self-made millionaire who heads the giant Hewlett-Packard Co. of Palo Alto, Calif., was named deputy secretary of defense by incoming Pentagon boss Melvin Laird.

PACKARD

Democratic senators warned that Packard's nomination must be carefully studied because of the serious possibility of a conflict-of-interest situation. Privately, many Republicans agreed.

Packard's firm did $34 million worth of business with the Defense Department last year. It did another $7 million with other federal agencies and had $60 million in sales to government prime contractors.

Packard, who owns 3.6 million shares of Hewlett-Packard stock, rejected a suggestion that he sell the stock, explaining that the holdings in the company were too important to his family and, as security analysts agree, it would greatly disrupt the market and hurt other stockholders if he were to quickly sell so many shares. Packard also argues it would be impractical to deny defense contracts to the firm because the work is vital to the company's 13,000 employes.

Packard did, however, disclose elaborate precautions that he was prepared to take to avoid any conflict of interest. His Hewlett-Packard holdings (worth an estimated $300 million) will be placed in a short-term trust. All dividend income (estimated at more than $750,000 a year) will be distributed to educational and charitable organizations already chosen.

At the end of his government service, Packard continued, any capital appreciation of Hewlett-Packard stock during the trust period also would be distributed to educational or charitable organizations.

"This guy's making a great sacrifice to go into government," one influential senator commented. "He's losing hundreds of thousands of dollars a year and I don't think he'll have much trouble winning confirmation."

Even if the potential conflict of interest is cleared up, however, there remains the serious question of Packard's views on trade with the enemy. At least one senator is planning to bring up this subject during the hearings on Packard's nomination.

In a series of letters last year to Sen. Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.), a chief proponent of East-West "bridge-building," Packard came out for a lowering of U.S. barriers on trade with the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Hewlett-Packard, he said, was engaged in a "long-range program to increase its sale of non-strategic products in Eastern Europe." Despite Packard's description, however, these products—highly sophisticated instruments used in electronics and analytical chemistry—could definitely have military application.

Packard disclosed that his firm had assigned several sales engineers to full-time duty behind the Iron Curtain, "traveling in the territory and providing on-the-spot assistance to the East European purchasers and end users." The firm also participated in the Leipzig and Budapest Fairs last year, as well as the Poznan and Brno Exhibitions and smaller shows.

"We anticipate this new effort will cause our East European sales to more than double in 1968, with an even further substantial increase the following year," Packard wrote Mondale.

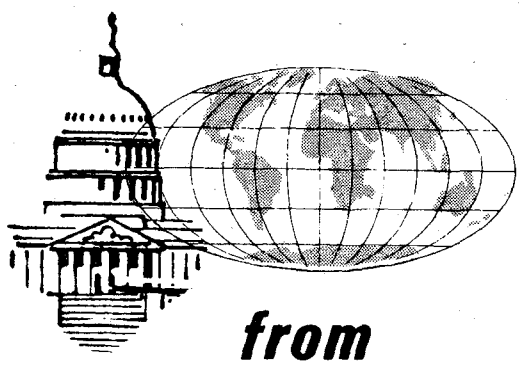
The West Coast industrialist complained, however, that his firm's sales to Communist bloc countries were limited by the "high level of unilaterally imposed U.S. export controls."

Noting that Japan and Europe were trading freely with the Russians, Packard said that U.S. controls were cutting into his business—"despite the fact that many times our products have better inherent performance capabilities, are frequently of better quality, and often lower in price."

Packard urged a lowering of U.S. controls to those of the European and Japanese levels. "We believe a larger volume of East-West trade can and will contribute to a better understanding, without in any sense providing substantial aid which would strengthen our enemies, or potential enemies."

Several key senators disagree. Although as under secretary Packard is slated to handle only administrative duties in the Pentagon, with Laird overseeing policy matters, Packard can expect to be questioned closely on his East-West trade views during the confirmation hearings.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from Inside Washington

Senate GOP Shifts

Most Senate conservatives were dismayed last week at the election of Pennsylvania liberal Hugh Scott as GOP whip. Scott, who waged a tireless drive for the job, triumphed 23 to 20 over his more subdued opponent, conservative Roman Hruska of Nebraska.

Scott succeeds California's Tom Kuchel, whose liberal voting record was the major reason for his defeat in last June's senatorial primary. Scott, first elected to the Senate in 1958, must face the voters again in 1970.

Throughout his 26 years on Capitol Hill (16 as a representative), Scott has compiled a consistently liberal voting record. During the 90th Congress, for instance, Scott supported a "larger federal role" on 10 of 11 rollcalls, according to the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly*. Moreover, during the first session of the last Congress, Scott supported Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" on 58 per cent of the key rollcalls (a figure slightly higher than that of his Democratic colleague, Joseph Clark). During the second session, Scott's support of LBJ rose to 64 per cent, a figure surpassed by only five Republicans.

Other voting records also show how far out of the GOP mainstream Scott has been. According to Americans for Democratic Action, he has a 57 liberal rating, again exceeded by only five other Republicans. By COPE standards, Scott is the sixth most liberal GOP senator, with a rating of 59. And the Americans for Constitutional Action give Scott a lowly 41 per cent conservative score; only seven Republican senators are more liberal, according to ACA.

Ironically, it was a handful of conservative votes that put Scott over. Although last Friday's balloting was secret, it's believed that several usually conservative lawmakers opposed Hruska on personal grounds. A few others simply owed Scott political favors. More importantly, perhaps, was the feeling by several conservatives that the party's leadership should be broadly based—ideologically and geographically.

They pointed out that the election of Hruska would give Midwestern conservatives the top two leadership positions and the expected elevation of Colorado's Gordon Allott to the third spot in the GOP hierarchy would deny the liberals any voice at all.

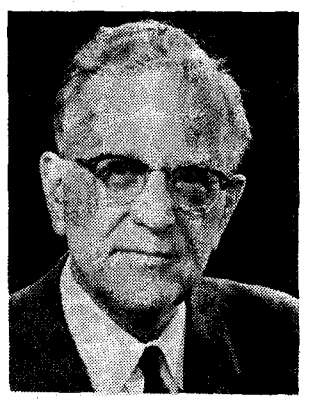
Allott did, in fact, easily win the chairmanship of the Senate GOP Policy Committee, defeating Michigan's Robert Griffin, a late-comer to the race, 25 to 18. The victory of Allott, a rather solid conservative (ACA: 76; ADA: 14), could prove even more important than Scott's victory in the whip job.

The late Robert Taft turned the Policy Committee into an instrument of power and influence on the national scene. His successor, New Hampshire's Styles Bridges, also used the committee effectively.

The low-keyed Bourke Hickenlooper, who suceeded Bridges, did little with the committee, but the opportunity is there for Allott, particularly with a Republican in the White House. The Colorado solon will have a 22-member committee staff (with an annual payroll of $360,000) at his disposal and could make good use of it in countering the Senate Democrats' 57-to-43 numerical edge.

One move that is necessary, say observers, is for Allott to pump new life into the committee by replacing some of the hangers-on who have done little more than occupy cushy spots on the staff payroll. The committee staff could also do more independent research and reporting, rather than serving as speech-writing and research aides to various members, as has so often been the case in recent years.

SCOTT



ALLOTT

• On the House side of the Hill, Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.), a moderate conservative, was elected chairman of the House Republican Conference by a lopsided margin. Anderson, who succeeds Defense Secretary-designate Melvin Laird, received 116 votes. Jackson Betts (Ohio), a late entry, polled 43, and Minnesota's Albert Quie ran last with an embarrassing 18.

• Congressional Democrats also had their share of leadership battles when the party's caucuses met before Congress convened. In the House 73-year-old Speaker Rep. John McCormack (Mass.) easily defeated the "youth" candidate, Arizona's Morris Udall; however, in a mild concession to the ultra-liberal Democratic Study Group (DSG), which led the campaign for his ouster, Speaker McCormack agreed to caucus the House Democrats once each month. Senate Democrats (31 to 26) ousted their incumbent whip, Sen. Russell Long (La.) and installed Teddy Kennedy (Mass.), after the surviving son of the Kennedy clan put on a whirlwind one-week campaign; despite this slight boost in Kennedy's presidential nomination prospects for 1972, Senate Republicans now feel they can attract more Southern Democratic votes for Nixon Administration programs than they could have with Louisianan Long as whip.

Another 'Otepka' Case?

"Shades of Otepka." That was the reaction of one leading senator to the disclosure last week that the Navy had punished and harassed a civil servant who sparked the investigation which disclosed huge thefts of U.S. military fuel in Thailand.

The employe, John M. McGee, was sent to Bangkok in May 1967 as a civilian petroleum inspector. McGee noted that a supervisor was signing receipts

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for military oil shipments without making any effort to see if the fuel had been received.

When McGee challenged the practice, he was told it was done to "expedite paperwork." Further investigation disclosed that the supervisor was spending "vacations on the beach" in cabins owned by oil contractors.

McGee reported his findings to the U.S. Office of Special Investigations in Bangkok. Result: The supervisor was promoted to a higher-paying job.

Investigators for the General Accounting Office, who then entered the case, reported to Washington that spotchecks showed more than half the gasoline stored in Thai service stations for distribution to U.S. military vehicles had been stolen in one 10-month period. The GAO also discovered that the contents of hundreds of tank trucks bound for the U.S. had vanished.

In 1967 alone, reported the government auditors, bribery, forgery, collusion and governmental laxity led to the theft of 5.5 million gallons of petroleum. "The full extent of the financial loss to the government is not known," the GAO reported.

Civilian McGee, who triggered the probe, received no thanks from the Pentagon. Instead, he was given 72 hours to get out of Bangkok and was transferred to the Navy Fuel Supply Office in Alexandria, Va.

There, he says, his new post amounts to "nothing more than a make-work job as a file clerk, only there's nothing to file." McGee has a GS-11 Civil Service rating with a salary of about $11,000 a year. He has been denied an automatic, in-grade pay hike since blowing the whistle on the Thai graft.

McGee says that his superiors and fellow workers are treating him as a pariah for disclosing the thefts and "causing waves." "They won't look at me. They won't talk to me. I'm given the cold treatment," he declares.

Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) has come to the aid of McGee, demanding a full and complete investigation by the Civil Service Commission.

"Too few employes are willing to report possible wrongdoing in a system where you have a strong effort on the part of the authorities to maintain control, to prevent any embarrassment," Proxmire said. "What McGee did wasn't the best way to get promoted or get ahead. I think he deserves a lot of credit. What he did took a lot of courage."

Hoover Reports on New Left

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned last week that youthful revolutionaries of the New Left pose a serious threat to the U.S. government. In a report to Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Hoover blamed the New Leftists for a "marked increase in recent months in bombings and burnings of public buildings and other acts of terrorism."

HOOVER

According to Hoover, the hard-core revolutionaries who direct the New Left have "constantly exhorted their followers to abandon their traditional role of 'passive dissent' and resort to terroristic tactics as a means of disrupting the defense effort and opposing established authority."

The arson has been national in scope: firebombings of the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps at Stanford; the destruction of Selective Service offices at Los Angeles Valley Junior College; the bombing of CIA offices at the University of Michigan; a $90,000 fire at the University of Washington's Naval Reserve headquarters; the destruction of military vehicles worth $100,000 in Eugene, Ore., to mention but a few cases.

Hoover noted that publications of the New Left are replete with articles calling for the bombing of draft boards and that literature containing detailed instructions for the manufacture of firebombs has been widely disseminated among young radicals.

The FBI chief identified the Students for a Democratic Society as the leading New Left group in the country. During the SDS national convention last June, he said, members were instructed in the use of explosives as a revolutionary tool. "It was only a short time after this convention that the wave of bombing and arson occurred throughout the country."

The pro-Peking Progressive Labor party, Hoover stated, was having considerable success in its effort to infiltrate and capture SDS. Result: The organization is moving away from its free-wheeling, anarchistic philosophy toward a Maoist, Marxist-Leninist approach.

Hoover also warned that "The growing number of black extremist organizations throughout the United States represents a potential threat to the internal security of the nation." The veteran G-man said that the virulent Black Panthers were growing at a great rate and that "Prime Minister" Stokely Carmichael was traveling extensively throughout the country, urging American Negroes to declare "guerrilla warfare" against the ruling authorities.

Hoover noted that Black Panther members were indoctrinated in the works of Mao Tse-tung and warned there has been an "expansion of foreign influence in black extremist groups." This influence, he added, was receiving close attention from the FBI's undercover operatives.

Leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A., could look back on 1968 with mixed emotions, the Bureau head declared. On one hand, he said, the party held a national convention, resumed publication of a daily newspaper and ran candidates for President and vice president.

On the debit side, Hoover reported, the party was unable to substantially increase its membership (estimated at less than 15,000) and is currently racked by factional disputes. While CP boss Gus Hall gave the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia his complete endorsement, a number of other party veterans condemned the action and the party remains badly splintered.

'Green Berets' a Success

John Wayne has the last laugh. The critics, led by the New York *Times*' Renata Adler, denounced the "Duke's" *Green Berets* as "simplistic and jingoistic." Peace pickets marched outside theaters from New York to California. Anti-war groups urged boycotts.

WAYNE

But the figures are now in and *The Green Berets*—an unabashed tribute to our men in Viet Nam—is turning out to be one of the most successful films of recent years. It has earned $11 million, a figure that is expected to double by the end of 1969.

Wayne took a considerable financial risk in acquiring the film rights to Robin Moore's best-selling novel, then starring in and producing the film. The consensus in film circles, the New York *Times* reported, was that *The Green Berets* was "destined for disaster."

Wayne said last week that the liberal hatchet jobs actually helped his box office. "The ridiculously one-sided criticism of the picture only made people more conscious of it and proved that the reviews were not very effective."

"When people read those reviews I'm sure they couldn't believe them. *The Green Berets* simply says that a lot of our brave guys are fighting and dying for us out there."

Foreign Donations to HHH Kitty

The powerful Seafarers International Union was accused last week of extracting tens of thousands of dollars from Japanese and Filipino seamen for "voluntary" contributions to Democratic political coffers. It was the second major scandal involving the SIU in less than a year.

In mid-1968, the *Wall Street Journal*'s crack Washington reporter, Jerry Landauer, disclosed that the SIU had made a $100,000 contribution to the Johnson-Humphrey kitty immediately after the State Department refused to extradite to Canada a top SIU official wanted for perjury.

Now Landauer has turned up still another scandal involving the apparent shakedowns of foreign seamen for U.S. political candidates, virtually all of them Democrats.

The contributions—many of which violate federal law, Landauer says, because they go unreported—are supposedly made by Japanese and Filipino seamen hired on U.S. ships sailing to Viet Nam. Wages are high in these jobs, with the aliens earning as much as $1,000 a month.

Rarely, however, do the seamen get to keep all they make. Often they must pay "service fees" (as much as $330 a month) to union agents who control hiring. If the agent is a Seafarer, he remits all or part of this to the political action fund maintained by the union's Atlantic, Gulf, Lakes and Inland Waters District. Explains Landauer:

"Not all the money in the fund comes from foreigners, of course, but it is the aliens' payments that help explain how one union district, with just 12,800 men at sea, manages to raise more money for federal candidates than the giant Steelworkers, Auto Workers or Teamsters Unions."

During the last campaign, the SIU contributed a total of at least $185,000 to President Johnson before he withdrew and then to Vice President Humphrey. It tossed $27,000 into the campaign of Maryland Sen. Daniel Brewster, who lost, but gave tens of thousands more to successful candidates in dozens of other important campaigns.

Sen. Warren Magnuson (D.-Wash.), chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, which originates all maritime legislation, got $15,000, and there was more if needed.

Ten thousand dollars went to the veteran Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), influential chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. Nearly $8,000 in cash and services was earmarked for New York's Jacob Gilbert, a recent addition to the House Merchant Marine Committee. And at least $9,000 went to Maryland's Edward Garmatz, chairman of that committee.

With grateful "friends" occupying top congressional posts, the SIU boasts fantastic power on Capitol Hill.

Landauer reports that observers feel the Seafarers, together with other maritime unions and associations of ship-builders and ship-owners, "probably are strong enough to strangle any Nixon Administration attempts to make the U.S. merchant marine less dependent on subsidies."

Union officials defend their political activity, insisting that contributions are made openly and legally. But, says Landauer, the union fails to comply with a major provision of the law that requires the name and address of every individual contributing more than $100 to its political fund.

"This is a requirement the union could meet only at the risk of exposing the undercover payments flowing in from Asia," Landauer notes. "If the donors' names were listed, of course, all would be legal. But a listing of hundreds of Asian contributors to American political campaigns might prompt investigations into whether the contributions were voluntary."

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Some Predictions for 1969

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Thanks to the moon-encircling astronauts, 1968 ended in a burst of glory for America. What does 1969 hold in store?

Being neither a clairvoyant nor a spiritist, this writer can only hazard guesses based upon more than half a century's experience with foreign politics.

In 1967, of 20 such guesses, 12½ proved to be correct. For the past year the record shows slightly over 50 per cent accuracy.

Here goes for 1969:

1. To check the further disintegration of NATO, President Nixon will offer Europe, presumably France, nuclear warheads of its own, plus a greater say in the formulation of policy everywhere, in exchange for unity and a greater military effort on its part.

2. At home the new President will advocate an increase in the price of gold.

3. Congress will pass a law tying the amount of all government pensions, security and welfare payments to a cost-of-living index.

4. Britain's devaluation of sterling will further discredit the Labour government and cause a currency crisis through the Atlantic world.

5. President de Gaulle will smother a revival of student and anarchist rioting in France under the threat of military intervention.

6. Italy's Socialists will cause a national crisis by abandoning the present coalition government with the Christian Democrats and Republicans for a popular front with the Communists.

7. Prime Minister Trudeau's Canadian policy of growing intimacy with Communist governments (called "double dealing" by some Americans) will provoke a quarrel with the United States.

8. Regardless of increasing oppression, open dissent will grow throughout the USSR.

9. The Kremlin will make a serious effort to land the first man on the moon.

10. Kosygin will continue to talk disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation and promise help in ending the war in Viet Nam, meanwhile increasing his own armament and secretly encouraging Arab guerrilla warfare in Israel.

11. The Kremlin will tighten its economic hold upon the other Red countries, notably Rumania, and make closer economic ties with Yugoslavia.

12. Ho Chi Minh's delegates in Paris will stall on peace talks until such time as Nixon threatens to escalate the war.

13. North Korea, encouraged by LBJ's confession of guilt by the *USS Pueblo* crew, will step up terrorism in South Korea short of open war.

14. Armed conflicts of various intensity will continue in Africa.

15. Communism will spread in India, Israel, the Philippines, Uruguay and Chile.

16. The military will seize power in two more countries in Africa and in one more in Latin America.

17. Facing an American threat to transfer our bases to Portugal, Spain will accept the prolongation of its present military agreements with us.

18. West Germany and Italy will defer signing the proposed nuclear non-proliferation treaty until they see the outcome of Russo-American disarmament negotiation.

19. In anticipation of this year's national election, West Germany will outlaw the Nationalist party.

20. Before next Christmas, short of an end to the war in Viet Nam, the Republican Administration at home will ask Congress for wage and price controls.

Such, then, are my hunches for 1969.

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LEGAL QUIRK—"You can call a person a Fascist, a pig, a capitalist, a Socialist, a Republican, or a Democrat without libeling him. But it remains libelous per se (that is, libelous on its face) to call a person a Communist. You can vote for a Communist for President, you can negotiate with a Communist for a test ban treaty, you can invite a Communist to address your church or your luncheon club. But call a person a fellow traveler, or ask him if he believes in Communist causes, and you may have a lawsuit on your hands."—From the Arizona *Republic*.

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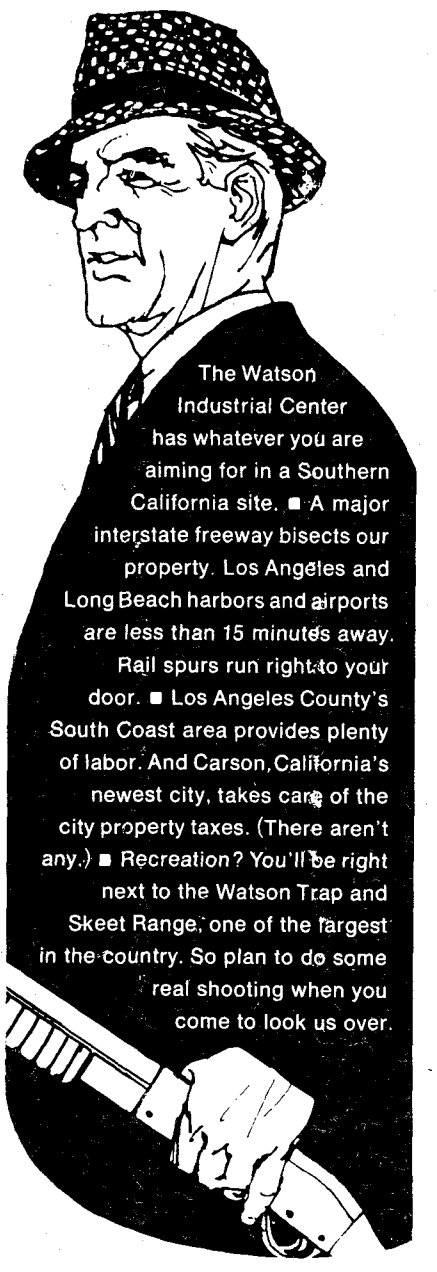
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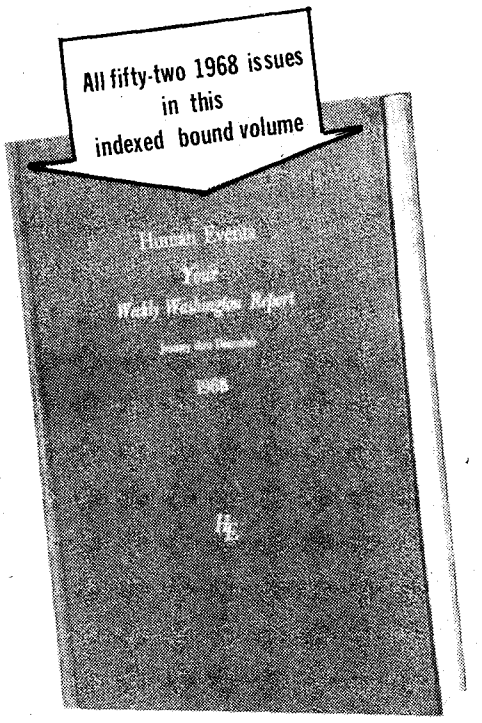

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Viet Nam, Weapons, Nuclear Treaty

As Nixon Examines His 'Options'

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Press reports of the Key Biscayne meeting last week of President-elect Richard M. Nixon with the future members of his National Security Council, say the discussions were primarily concerned with three areas: the Viet Nam war, strategic weapons and disarmament, and the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Mr. Nixon has asked for a definition of the options open to him in these policy matters.

Let us make believe that we are the National Security Council. How would we define these options for Mr. Nixon?

I—Viet Nam

The option for negotiation has been exhausted. For eight years Presidents Kennedy and Johnson tried to resolve the Viet Nam conflict by negotiation—without success. They called on all the nations of the world to assist them. They reaped a harvest of destruction and slaughter, not the peace they sought.

Administration claims that the enemy is beaten and on the point of collapse have been a constant refrain for six years. The claims are as unfounded now as when they were first made. The enemy risks in South Viet Nam only the force he chooses to risk there. The suggestion that his losses have weakened his determination to conquer South Viet Nam is wishful thinking. It is the kind of thinking which prolongs the war of attrition.

Prudence requires us to recognize that negotiation cannot possibly induce Ho Chi Minh to cease and desist from his aggression against South Viet Nam. The clear message of his continuing aggression is that the United States has maintained in this war conditions favorable to the success of that aggression. To end the war, we must change those conditions.

What are the conditions which favor the aggression? First, allowance of sanctuary in Laos, from which North Viet Nam was excluded by the Geneva Treaty of 1962, in flagrant violation of law and treaty. Second, tolerance of North Viet Nam's violation of the Demilitarized Zone between North and South Viet Nam established by the Geneva Treaty of 1954. Third, allowance of sanctuary to North Viet Nam military forces in Cambodia by pretending that they are not there. Fourth, allowance of sanctuary on the home base of the aggressor by failing to blockade his coast, close his harbors and destroy his military resources.

These conditions have created a one-sided war favorable to North Viet Nam. They have made the defense of South Viet Nam impossible. They must be changed if our free allies are to be spared aggression.

There is no tolerable option which would retain these conditions. Options relate to the method of ending the conditions.

Option 1: The best option is to launch without warning airborne infantry attacks with full air support against enemy forces and bases in Cambodia, in Laos and in North Viet Nam near the Demilitarized Zone. These attacks would be made by South Viet Nam forces with U.S. logistic and air support. Their purpose would be to destroy the forces waging war against South Viet Nam. It is important psychologically and politically that South Viet Nam forces wage this assault on the aggressors. Simultaneously, North Viet Nam would be called upon to evacuate Laos and Cambodia and cease its attacks on South Viet Nam. If it failed to do so, South Viet Nam would press the war to overthrow Ho Chi Minh and liberate the north.

The advantage of surprise would minimize casualties in our attacking forces and we have ample forces presently in Viet Nam to accomplish this mission.

The United States would simultaneously warn Communist China and the Soviet Union to stay out of the fighting or to be treated as belligerents. Since neither of these powers is prepared to risk its own survival in a conflict with the United States, the warning would be effective.

Option 2: It is also possible to inform Moscow that the cited conditions favoring aggression will be ended and that the United States will support the right of South Viet Nam to respond by invading and defeating North Viet Nam.

Since Moscow seeks neither the defeat of North Viet Nam nor war with the United States, there is a slim chance that such a warning could force the withdrawal of North Viet Nam from Cambodia and Laos. It is more probable, however, that Moscow will test U.S. will to take the action and will not order a North Vietnamese retreat before the assaults have been made. Surprise would be lost and casualties would be increased. Since South Viet Nam has always had a clear right in international law to strike back at the aggressor, it is under no obligation to give warning to the enemy.

This option holds open the possibility of settling the issue by diplomacy, if U.S. determination to defeat North Viet Nam can be made credible to Moscow by our representatives.

Variants. There will be variants possible in the method of bringing the Paris conference to a conclusion, in the orchestration of bombardment and blockade of North Viet Nam. There must be related the primary purpose of defeating the forces waging the aggression.

Non-options. To continue the futile pursuit of negotiations from the present military posture and to essay new initiatives in the United Nations are non-options. They would only prolong the already indefensible slaughter of this war without offering any hope of an honorable peace.

II—Strategic Weapons and Disarmament

In a decade of seeking peace through disarmament we have dangerously slowed our own research and development while the Soviet Union has forged ahead. This U.S. policy has derived from the foolish notion that Soviet arms development is motivated by considerations of self-defense and not conquest. This notion is suicidal. It belies all available evidence.

Our suppression of arms development has only accelerated the Soviet arms buildup by making the aim of conquest seem feasible. Soviet leaders are convinced that capitalists who accept arms parity for internal sociological considerations will also accept inferiority for the same reasons.

Thus, a world which eight years ago was firmly insured against nuclear war by the superiority of U.S. military power is today in a perilous state through the loss of that superiority. In this period, our allies have come to doubt the credibility of U.S. nuclear deterrence. The enemy has come to doubt our will to survive.

This is a shameful retreat for a nation which has twice the industrial capacity of the Soviet Union. With our power and resources, it would be easy to maintain a decisive superiority over the Soviet war potential. It is a calamitous disservice to peace to surrender that superiority.

The Soviet Union has used disarmament negotiations to encourage unilateral disarmament of the West and to soften Western resistance to Soviet power (Czechoslovakia) with idle dreams of peace. It has entered into treaties which were definitely advantageous to it and which encouraged the euphoria of the West.

This course has devitalized the West. The United States is begging for disarmament which the Soviet Union has firmly rejected. Fanciful schemes are concocted to no avail. American representatives are frustrated and defeated because they pursue a policy based on false premises.

Peace requires an arms race. The United States must accept the Soviet challenge. It must build decisively superior offensive and defensive armaments so that no Politburo will ever dare to wage war against us. Let us face the reality of Soviet purpose and demonstrate conclusively that the Communist world cannot match our productivity.

This is the new peace policy which the Nixon Administration must offer to the world. It is a positive policy, an assured policy, a feasible policy.

There must be another wing to this policy. The United States must keep constantly before world public opinion the slavery which the Soviet regime has imposed on Soviet workers in its effort to build armaments. Soviet workers are the most oppressed, deprived, impoverished workmen of the Western world. We must inform them that our arms will automatically decrease as Soviet arms decrease. We must encourage internal Soviet pressures to raise the standard of living of the Soviet people and to end the Soviet plans of conquest.

Peace is too serious a matter to be left to the decision of dictators. Free world leaders must adopt positive measures which will isolate and kill the conquest virus.

In practical effect, this change of policy requires only a small change of course. Our harbor is peace, but now we know how to reach it.

What we must not do is persist in the futile attempt to disarm a conqueror by negotiation. That is non-policy, a stupendous self-deception.

III—The Non-proliferation Treaty

Contrary to Mr. Nixon's public statement, this is a bad treaty. It divides the West on issues affecting the very survival of free nations and it does nothing whatsoever to restrain nuclear proliferation in the Communist world. The treaty is a triumph of Soviet diplomacy, an American aberration which Mr. Nixon should quietly bury.

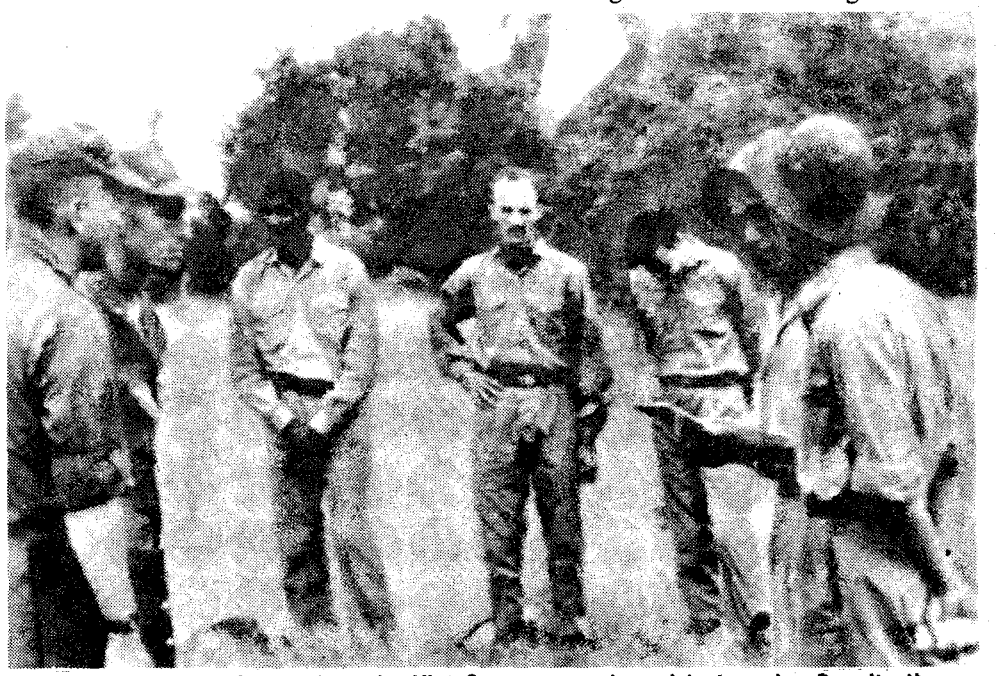
However, there are intermediate uses for this treaty. Mr. Nixon stated during the campaign that the U.S. Senate should not ratify the treaty while the Soviet Union was in occupation of Czechoslovakia. That is still a good policy.

The treaty has been urged—despite its handicaps—as a measure of detente with the Soviet Union. But the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia is so blatant a mockery of detente as to discredit our own cooperation in such moves. If the United States continues to seek detente, ignoring the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, it will convict itself of duplicity.

The United States should refuse not only action on the non-proliferation treaty, but on cultural exchanges, trade agreements and all other measures designed to promote closer relations with the Soviet Union. We must make it clear that the Soviet Union either is interested in reducing tensions or it is not; that we are not interested in pretending the wolf is a lamb.

The correct action for the United States Senate is therefore to table the non-proliferation treaty until Soviet forces are withdrawn from Czechoslovakia. The treaty should not be discussed until that time.

The quest for peace is not served by an impetuous pursuit of goodwill which sacrifices all principle. It is served by firmness in adherence to principle in the face of obstacles. This must be the burden of policy.



Three American GIs held by the Viet Cong were released last week. Despite the apparent humanitarian gesture, Gen. Lane holds that the way to win in Viet Nam is to strike the enemy decisively.

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Five Top-Priority Programs

Military Has Defense 'Shopping List' for Nixon

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

If President-elect Richard M. Nixon wants a stronger U.S. deterrent force, and all indications are that he does, military leaders in the Pentagon are ready with the weapon blueprints.

There is no lack of plans on Defense Department drawing boards. For years the generals and admirals, disappointed at budget time, have been stockpiling their annual hopes and dreams.

There is at least one major problem, however. As Nixon knows, from experience on former President Eisenhower's National Security Council, the process of modernizing weapons is a costly one, both in money and in time.

Here are five top-priority programs from the Pentagon shopping list. Each of them has been recommended officially by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Each has been deleted from Pentagon budgets, or to some degree delayed, beyond the timetable favored by the Joint Chiefs:

• The Joint Chiefs want to move quickly toward production of a new and larger intercontinental ballistic missile as successor to the Air Force Minuteman. Minuteman is the keystone of the present land-based missile force.

Approved research on a new ICBM is costing about $10 million this year. The Joint Chiefs want to put an additional $70 million into the program to complete contract definition for the new missile which, over the years, might well cost $12 billion.

• A new manned bomber has long been a goal of the Air Force brass. The chiefs want to go to pre-production contract definition now on a plane to replace the late-model B-52s and the bomber F-111s which are supposed to serve into the 1970s.

The current price tag is about $9 billion on the Pentagon project called AMSA (Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft), but recent experience with the giant C-5 transport provides new evidence that cost estimates for new aircraft are often overrun.

• Congress has provided funds to move toward deployment of a "thin" ABM system keyed to a possible attack from Communist China in the 1970s. The Joint Chiefs want to go farther and build a more sophisticated system designed to protect against a Soviet threat.

The system now authorized is expected to cost about $5.5 billion when complete. The present plan of the Joint Chiefs would add about $12 to $15 billion in over-all cost. More complex systems are quite possible, of course, and some critics have predicted that an anti-Soviet ABM could eventually cost $70 billion.

• Congress has been dragging its feet on the plan, approved by the Joint Chiefs, to convert 31 of the present 41 Polaris missile-firing submarines to carry the new and larger Poseidon missile. Congressional leaders are demanding Polaris-type performance from Poseidon before they approve the complete conversion plan.

The approved Poseidon program would cost about $5.1 billion over eight years under present cost estimates. The Joint Chiefs want to buy additional missiles, however, and some Navy authorities want to build more than the presently authorized 41 submarines. The final cost could go well beyond the $5.1-billion estimate.

• The Joint Chiefs want to finance this year a prototype surface ship armed with intermediate-range ballistic missile-firing submarines.

The cost of the prototype was estimated at $120 million. Ultimate cost of the program would, of course, depend on how many of the missile ships were eventually added to the fleet.

These expensive items do not, by any means, make up the entire strategic weapons list. For example, the Pentagon is speeding the construction of super-hardened missile silos as a protective hedge against rapidly increasing Soviet missile strength.

In strengthening the strategic deterrent, Nixon is quite aware that non-strategic weapons need modernizing too. The Navy is working on two new kinds of nuclear submarines, one a high-speed sub and the other designed for quiet running. The Air Force wants to rebuild the nation's air defenses around the supersonic F-12 intercepter at a cost of some $15 billion.

Finally, there is a competing demand in the Pentagon for new supplies of conventional weapons—for ships and tanks, and for the sort of military hardware which has been taken off the shelf for use in Viet Nam, and never replaced.

These conventional arms are subject to inflationary pressures, and modernizing can be very expensive. For example, the Navy's aging World War II destroyers cost about $9 million. A modern replacement costs upwards of $180 million. The 1946 M-1 rifle cost $31. Today's M-16 costs more than $150.

War and preparations for war are, of course, inherently expensive and wasteful. For the Nixon Administration, beset by many problems foreign and domestic, the price of strengthened defenses is truly astronomical.

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BLACK PANTHER PROBE—Investigators for Sen. John McClellan's Permanent Investigating subcommittee have started work on a full-scale Senate probe of the Black Panthers. Preliminary investigations have begun in the San Francisco-Oakland area, where the Panthers have been involved in repeated altercations with the police.

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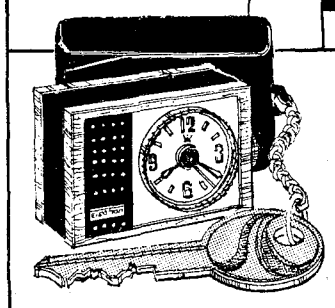

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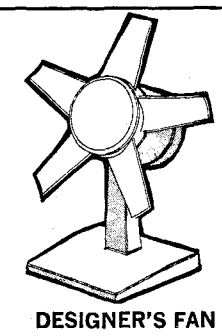

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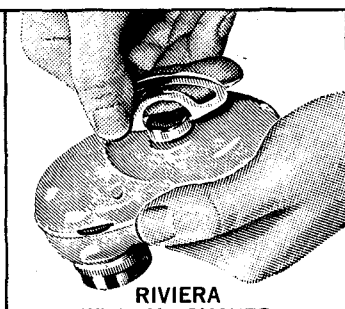

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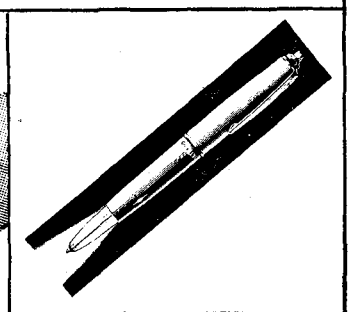

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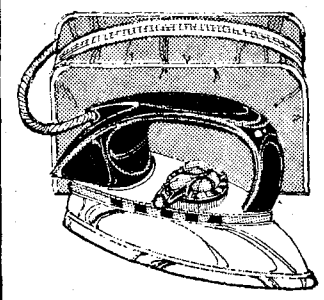

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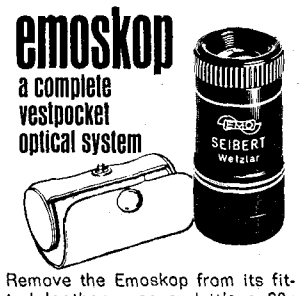

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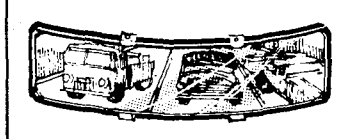

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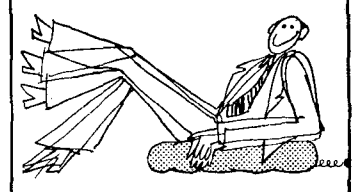

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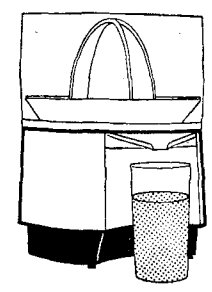

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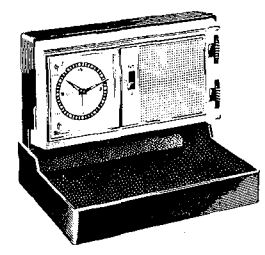

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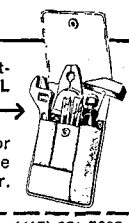

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Still a Hard-Line Conservative

Foreman Returns to House After Four Years

By WILLARD EDWARDS

When he was last in Congress, he was its youngest member, representing a huge Texas district.

He was tough and talkative, a former roughneck and roustabout in the west Texas oil fields, and the first Republican ever sent to the House by the voters of that area.

At 29, a success in both business and politics, Rep. Ed Foreman was about as brash a freshman as Capitol Hill has ever seen. He saw no reason to doubt that he would have a long and illustrious career in Congress.

Then, something hit him. In 1964, running for re-election to a second term, he was mangled by a juggernaut known as the Johnson blitz. In Texas, his home state, the President swept to a massive victory. Foreman and another Texas Republican went down to defeat.

Now, four years later, Foreman is back but not—astonishingly—from Texas. He is the duly elected representative of a neighboring state, New Mexico, the first man in history to accomplish election from the two states. Just as he had broken political traditions in Texas, he accomplished the same feat in New Mexico. It had not elected a Republican congressman in 40 years.

The story of this comeback is comparable on a smaller scale to the saga of Richard M. Nixon, who bounced back from repudiation by the voters of his home state to win the highest office in the land. Nixon also shifted his political base to try again.

But it is more than an account of perseverance after a crushing setback. It is a revelation of the benefits that can accrue from defeat, tempering the pride and self-importance that comes from unbroken success, and producing the knowledge of self essential to leadership in a competitive world.

None can phrase it better than Foreman, himself, in his own pungent style.

"As I look back on myself during that first term in Congress," he mused, "I can see that I was rather arrogant. I knew it all.

"I got thrown off the fast freight and now that I've climbed back on, I think I'll know better how to hold on as we go around the curves. I'm as strong in my convictions as ever, but I think I've got a warmer understanding of my fellow man, particularly the unfortunates who need help in our society.

"When I came back to Washington the other day, I talked to a former acquaintance and he eventually remarked: 'You know, Ed, it's easier to like you now. You've got a little humility in you.' And I have."

Foreman may have been a little too harsh on himself. It is true that he started battling the Kennedy Administration in 1963 almost as soon as he took his seat in the House. He scorned the unobtrusive role of the new member, engaged in running attacks on government spending, and exposed examples of waste by government bureaucrats.

The Administration complimented him to the extent of offering him, first, a bribe in the form of a $5-million program for his district. When he spurned it, the other form of pressure was applied—he learned that federal projects in his district were encountering mysterious delays.

Such arm-twisting was flattering rather than productive of humility. Foreman gained appointment to the House Armed Services Committee, a prized assignment, and was recognized by then chairman, Carl Vinson (D.-Ga.) as a comer. He gained some notoriety when Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D.-Tex.) took a swing at him in the Speaker's lounge for remarks about the Gonzalez voting record.

As he sought re-election in 1964, Foreman had every reason to expect victory. But a lightly regarded Democratic opponent was the surprised beneficiary of LBJ's coattails. At 31, Foreman's political career came to a dead stop.

Conservative Ed Foreman attributes his outspoken views on the "Great Society" as part of the reason for his upset victory in New Mexico last year. Foreman hopes to regain his old seat on the House Armed Services Committee.

He had sold out his business interests when he entered politics. Now, he wondered how to get back into the business of making a living. His thoughts turned to New Mexico where he had been born in 1933, went to school, and found a wife.

In Las Cruces, he found a bustling, growing city suited to his talents. The youngster who had built a small fortune out of a shoestring in west Texas at the age of 25 found himself after two years head of an oil company, a sand and gravel company, owner of a fleet of concrete-mixing trucks, and an investor in farm lands.

Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) had induced him to desert business for politics in Texas. Now former Gov. Edwin L. Mechem urged him to help in the 1966 campaign in New Mexico, placing him on the Republican State Central Committee. In 1968 Mechem and others induced him to run for Congress. For the second time, he surrendered a highly prosperous business career for the dubious delights of office-seeking.

The congressional district in which Foreman was called upon to campaign is awesome in size. It covers 85,000 square miles, stretching 700 miles from the southeast corner bordering Texas to the northwest corner of the state where New Mexico meets Utah, Colorado and Arizona.

Superimposed on a map, this tract would blot out all six New England states, plus New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware and a chunk of eastern New York and Pennsylvania.

He played hard the "forgotten man" theme emphasized by Nixon at the head of the ticket.

E. S. Johnny Walker, the incumbent Democrat, was contemptuous.

"Don't let him give you this malarky about the forgotten man," he shouted. "He's for God, country, and motherhood." Foreman accepted the impeachment.

The only folks I may have offended speaking for God, country, and motherhood would have been atheists, traitors, and illegitimates—and, of course, our incumbent congressman," he retorted.

Walker promptly filed a complaint with the political ethics committee, charging that Foreman had impugned his loyalty, parentage and religion.

The press had a field day. At a gathering in Albuquerque Foreman was approached by a man who used an Anglo-Saxon epithet reflecting on his parentage. Foreman, responding in Western tradition, floored him with one punch. The subsequent scene was reminiscent of one of those mix-ups featured in all TV Westerns.

Foreman was called a carpetbagger who had been repudiated by Texas voters in 1964.

"There was just one reason why I was not re-elected to Congress in 1964," he told audiences. "It was simply because I did not support Lyndon B. Johnson and his great Socialist society. I still do not support it."

"It always brought down the house," Foreman recalled.

The odds against Foreman seemed insuperable. Democratic registration was about 84 per cent to the Republicans' 16 per cent. The first polls showed Foreman trailing, 61 per cent to 19 per cent. A month before the election, he had climbed to 33 per cent against 48 per cent. On election eve, it was 43 to 43 per cent, the remainder uncommitted.

He won by 51 per cent to 49 per cent, polling 69,000 to his opponent's 66,000 votes. He outpolled Nixon and Gov. David Cargo, also Republican winners in the state, in half the counties in the district.

"It was hard work and continual plugging, plus the efforts of a superb volunteer organization, that did it," Foreman said. "If my opponent had worked as hard as I did, he'd have won."

To prove his point, instead of resting on his victory, he again toured the 85,000 square miles of his district, sounding out citizen sentiment on how he should confront problems and issues in the next Congress.

He's still a hard-line conservative and the first bill he'll introduce in Congress will contain a prohibition against aid and trade with all countries helping North Viet Nam. His views on the Viet Nam war are short and simple: We should move to win . . . or get out . . . now. There is no mood in America for a continued long-drawn-out stalemate.

Just turned 35, Foreman is in many ways unchanged from the 29-year-old freshman who enlivened the Washington scene six years ago. His political philosophy remains the same—reduce the size, cost and control of big government to restore individual freedoms endangered by bureaucratic bunglers.

He undoubtedly will regain his old seat on the House Armed Services Committee. His district contains the White Sands missile range, Air Force bases, and the biggest ordnance supply depot in the country. The Pentagon will know soon that he's back.

He's still hard as nails, 200 pounds of muscle packed on a six-foot frame. But, to use a phrase made popular by President-elect Nixon, there's a new dimension to Foreman's thinking not evident before.

He spoke movingly of the plight of Indians on the reservations in New Mexico—truly the forgotten Americans of the 20th Century. He has plans to improve their lot, not with federal poverty money, but through land irrigation projects which will enable them to produce "taxpaying crops."

Most of all, he was enthusiastic about what could be done when an end to the Viet Nam war would free resources now tied up in that conflict.

"I think I'm a little more understanding of human needs, now that I know what it is to be defeated," he said. "I'm a hell of a lot more humble than I used to be. I'm going to work as hard as I possibly can and try to do a job better than is expected normally."

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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HOUSECLEANING—Talking to the Investment Bankers Association of America convention in Miami December 6, James N. Mitchell, now the attorney general-designate, said the Nixon Administration would give careful consideration to any proposals to improve government operations and functions. "We have had more than 30 years of federal plantationism. If the problem of the cities and the ghettoes is to be solved, it must be through private capital, not government handouts." Mitchell, who is a close friend and adviser to the President-elect, also said that not enough government "housecleaning" was done during the Eisenhower Administration. "I believe that this housecleaning will take place in the new Administration. It will be an entirely new government, not just a continuation of an old government with new faces at the top."

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It's Nice to Have Pueblo Crew Back, But. . .

By ROY COLBY

North Korea claims. The U.S. denies.

We're on the defensive as usual in the propaganda war. An important element in political warfare is control of the offensive. This is exercised so well by Communist propagandists simply by making false charges, which the U.S. feels obligated to deny, refute and explain, leaving us little time to talk about things we should be talking about, such as an act of piracy committed in international waters by North Korea last January.

When there is some truth in Communist charges, their propaganda offensive is obviously much more effective.

Did the U.S. representative at Panmunjom sign a statement admitting the intelligence ship, *USS Pueblo*, had violated the territorial waters of Communist North Korea and apologizing for the intrusion?

His face showing the effects of his ordeal in captivity, Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher talks with newsmen after his release.

Yes, but he also stated that what he had signed was untrue and the only reason he signed was to obtain the release of ship's crew.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk said that an act of this kind was unprecedented in the annals of diplomatic affairs.

Many Americans are left with mixed emotions concerning the manner of release of the *Pueblo* crew members after nearly 11 months of "humanitarian" treatment in a Communist prison. On the one hand, there was a good feeling that they were home at last—and at Christmas, too. On the other, there is a suspicion that somehow we were tricked and that U.S. prestige has dropped a little more, yet when the complete story is given, our decision-makers really acted in an honorable manner. Finally, there is the haunting question—why? Why did the North Koreans agree to this patently absurd—from our viewpoint, of course—device for settling the *Pueblo* affair?

Perhaps it was not absurd from their viewpoint at all. Perhaps it was even a master stroke of propaganda. To understand why this may prove to be the case, one has only to ask the question: Did or did not the U.S. apologize to North Korea? Remember that an affirmative statement to this effect had been the Communist price for the release of the crew from the start.

The answer to the question obviously is, "Yes, but—." Never mind the "but"—just answer the question—yes or no?

We know that the Western press has run the story in full context, explaining the bizarre, unprecedented circumstances surrounding the extraction of the apology. But what about the ideological version? How are the Communist news media all over the world representing the apology? Very simply. "That decadent imperialist aggressor, that paper tiger, that once proud and mighty United States, the last bastion of capitalism, was humiliated in the eyes of world opinion by the small but heroic Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea, a progressive Socialist state, and forced to recant, admit its crime and abjectly apologize for its willful and premeditated act—" you finish it, and don't forget to bring in U.S. aggression in Viet Nam.

This was the scene as Pueblo crew members greeted their families at San Diego after returning from their 11-month-long detainment by the North Koreans.

Yes, but—. Never mind the "but" because the ideological version claims that for face-saving and proganda reasons, the U.S. alleges its representative denied the veracity of the apology statement he signed. But you can't fool world opinion, can you? All progressive people are fully aware of the credibility gap between words and deeds of the U.S. imperialists.

Their version. Our version. Which will world opinion accept? Which will the captive peoples behind the curtains of Socialist censorship believe? And which the peoples in the so-called neutralist countries of Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East who have been conditioned to hate and mistrust the United States?

Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.) has raised some questions about the behavior of the Pueblo crew under fire and wants to hold hearings on the incident.

Yes, we're glad to get the *Pueblo* crew back—but wasn't there some other way?

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CHICKENS HOME TO ROOST— "Some of Britain's chickens, long overdue, recently came home to roost. The United Nations General Assembly rode roughshod over British objections and called for Britain to end its sovereignty over Her Majesty's Fortress at Gibraltar. This, of course, is none of the U.N.'s business, but Britain encouraged this very type of General Assembly interference by soliciting U.N. support on the Rhodesian question."—From the Richmond *News Leader*

Columnists Comment on the Release

In what Secretary of State Dean Rusk correctly called a "unique diplomatic procedure," Maj. Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward at Panmunjom December 22 first repudiated, then signed, a paper which stated:

"The Government of the United States of America, acknowledging the validity of the confessions of the crew of the USS Pueblo *and of the documents of evidence produced by the representative of the People's Republic of Korea to the effect that the ship, which was seized by the self-defense measures of the naval vessels of the Korean People's Army in the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Jan. 23, 1968, had illegally intruded into the territorial waters of the People's Republic of Korea, shoulders full responsibility and solemnly apologizes for the grave acts of espionage committed by the U.S. ship against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. . . ."*

Below are comments from several Human Events *columnists on this bizarre release procedure:*

"Imagine the United States signing a false statement to obtain release of the Pueblo crew! Imagine the United States, with all its power, unable to otherwise compel North Korea to release ship and crew! How low we have fallen. . . . We rejoice that the Pueblo crew has been released from captivity. As we welcome their return, let us remember that the shameful conditions of their release were negotiated by the very government which caused their capture and endured without honorable recourse the 11 months of their incarceration. These sailors of the United States would never have been captured on the high seas if the Johnson Administration had been worthy of its office. And the enemy still holds our ship."

—Gen. Thomas A. Lane

"In the midst of the jubilant singing over the return of the Pueblo's officers and men, it is necessary to sound a few bass growls of caution and dissent. . . .

"What were the considerations that caused the Pueblo to be sent upon its mission? Why was no air cover kept available? Why were no supporting vessels stationed within convenient reach?. . . We are entitled to ask—especially in the light of the attack on the USS Liberty in June 1967—why procedures were not perfected for destruction of vital encoding machines in moments of manifest peril?

". . . . It is curious that so much attention was directed last week to Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward's statement of 'repudiation,' and so little to the humiliating confession the general signed. . . . All this is being served up to the American public as a glorious achievement. It seems a far cry, somehow, from Stephen Decatur and John Paul Jones."

—James J. Kilpatrick

"President Johnson's rescue of the crew of the U.S. intelligence ship Pueblo will certainly assure him a place in history. Just what kind of place is open to question. . . . [The signing of the 'repudiated' confession], which one may call a diplomatic white lie, reveals LBJ as a great humanitarian. The question is, was this the kind of statesmanship which the chief defender of the human race against the Communist blight can afford?"

—Edgar Ansel Mowrer

"The impact the unprecedented U.S. action will have on other American prisoners of war is already causing deep concern among U.S. intelligence authorities. Reports have been received from French sources in Hanoi revealing that North Vietnamese officials have boasted that they plan to use copies of the USS Pueblo document to get American airmen to confess to bombing civilians.

"Hanoi's argument will be: If your government is willing to sign a confession it claims is false, what is wrong with your doing the same thing? This question is one that could haunt the conscience of not only the imprisoned American fliers but this nation for years to come. The strange U.S. diplomacy has opened a Pandora's box."

—Paul Scott

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Poverty and Social Disorder: Was It Planned That Way?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Daniel Patrick Moynihan was the darling of the liberals until he began speaking out for himself, attacking all the articles of faith that make up the Establishment's ideology. Even today, though he has accepted a post as chief urbanologist and White House expert on poverty problems in the Nixon Administration, he is still highly respected and—more important—always listened to by people whose views cover the political spectrum.

Now he has written a block-buster of a book on the poverty program and its impact on Washington and the United States. The New York *Times*, which received a set of galley proofs, jumped the February release date by publishing excerpts from the Moynihan book. It will offer grist for the congressional mills as an expose of the "sloppy work" of the poverty program.

In the Senate and House, indignant speakers have pointed to waste and mismanagement of funds. Sen. John McClellan, who heads the Senate

Daniel P. Moynihan, the liberal urbanologist who is now a Nixon aide, has pointed out many pitfalls in government poverty programs.

Permanent Investigating subcommittee, held stormy hearings this year in which accusations were made and denied that anti-poverty money was being used for such purposes as the purchase of guns and ammunition for ghetto militants. He and other critics will find corroboration of their basic thesis in Mr. Moynihan's book.

But it will be wasted motion if these disclosures are all that comes from a book by a man who served as assistant secretary of labor in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. The waste and the misuse of funds, serious though these may be, are the least part of the story. Money, after all, is only money. If it has gone down the rathole, the federal government will not collapse nor will American life suffer sharply.

Mr. Moynihan's book goes far beyond this, to the root error of the anti-poverty program and to results of that error with which we shall have to exist for years to come. If Mr. Moynihan's thesis is correct, then much of the violence and disorder which has marked these last years has stemmed from policies of social activism espoused by those who ran the poverty program and gave it its direction under President Johnson.

The original thrust of the anti-poverty program was to have been a massive drive against unemployment, an economic maneuver to lift those segments of American society languishing in the ghettos to the dignity and well-being of regular and well-paid work.

Mr. Moynihan tells of a meeting at the White House on Feb. 18, 1964, at which Sargent Shriver urged that a five-cent tax on cigarettes be imposed to raise $1.24 billion annually for the creation of jobs.

"The President dismissed it immediately," Mr. Moynihan writes. "He was seeking that year to cut taxes, not to raise them. The matter was concluded, and unlike most, never made its way into the newspapers."

What did make news was the shift from the employment drive to a "community action program." Those social scientists who ran the program rejected the idea of making jobs and espoused instead "action" programs designed to challenge the middle classes and the American system. Among these social scientists, Mr. Moynihan names Prof. Richard Cloward of the New York School of Social Research.

"Men such as Cloward," Mr. Moynihan flatly states, "moved fairly rapidly from the effort to integrate the poor into the system to an effort to use the poor to bring down the whole rotten structure." In other words, what was to have been an experiment in construction became instead a drive for revolutionary destruction.

"If administrators and politicians are going to play God with other persons' lives (and still other persons' money), they had at least to get clear what the divine intention is to be," says the author mildly.

Noting that the social scientists in the '60s had "quite extraordinary access to power. And they have used this access in considerable measure to promote change in directions they deem necessary and desirable. . . . The reaction among many of the more activist social scientists . . . was not to be appalled by disorder, but almost to welcome it."

This is an understatement. In the current wave of university confrontations, faculty members have defended student violence. In the ghetto riots the academic community has all too frequently found "reasons" for condoning or justifying the summer holocaust.

This is the nub of Daniel Patrick Moynihan's book. It explains what seemed like madness when testimony was heard in Washington that showed widespread use of poverty funds for "community action" leading to mayhem and destruction.

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New York City teachers picket City Hall in support of the teachers' strike.

When Unions Come to Schoo

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

When a conversation works around to the evils of trade unionism among public employes, ordinarily the talk is of tangible evils—of schools closed, trash uncollected, laws ignored. Down in Miami, another evil has appeared. It merits consideration as a portent of things to come in other cities across the country.

Ten months ago, it will be recalled, the Florida Education Association called the first statewide teachers' strike in the nation's history. (Actually, it wasn't called a strike; it was called a mass resignation, which was part of the gross hypocrisy of the whole unhappy affair. It also was said that the walkout was intended to win better schools for the children; the overriding purpose, in point of fact, was to win greater power for the teachers' union.)

Nowhere was the strike more bitterly contested than in Miami. There the Dade Classroom Teachers Association (CTA), largest local of the FEA, led the walkout. Members of the much smaller Dade County Education Association, opposed in principle to a teachers' strike, struggled in concert with outraged parents to keep Miami schools open.

Finally the walkout dragged to an end, and striking members of the CTA returned to their classrooms. The damage that had been done to faculty morale and to parent-teacher relationships was severe, but that is another story. Of more immediate interest is the agreement, or "mutual understanding," just reached between the CTA and the Dade County Board of Public Instruction. It is a lulu.

About 6,300 of Miami's 9,000 teachers belong to the CTA. Under this agreement, the CTA—the union that pulled the February strike—is to have exclusive bargaining powers with the Dade County board. These powers extend not only to wages and working conditions, but to professional matters as well. Only the CTA would have the privilege of payroll deductions. The CTA would name members of the Professional Policies Committee. It would have exclusive privileges of union meetings on school property, days off with pay for teacher conferences, use of the inter-school mails, and even exclusive use of school bulletin boards. In every schoolhouse the CTA would appoint one teacher as union agent or shop steward, in charge of grievance negotiations. Jimmy Hoffa, the Teamsters' boss, could not have drafted a contract that carries more clout.

Under this agreement those teachers who resisted last winter's strike are out in the cold. The 1,500-member Dade County Educational Association could not so much as post a notice, solicit members on school property, or call a meeting of its own members after school hours. An independent teacher could not even work out a grievance privately with school authorities; a "written copy of the disposition of the grievance" would have to be given to the CTA.

In a scathing editorial two weeks ago, the Miami *Herald* denounced this agreement as a "sweetheart of a deal." The memorandum of understanding, said the paper, "is nothing more or less than an exclusive union contract," which is forbidden by state law to employe groups claiming a right to strike.

Jack Gordon, a member of the school board, defends the memorandum: "It is important for the public to see there are good, efficient, business reasons for making this agreement. . . . We can't deal with people on an individual basis."

And there you have it. That is the direction these things take. Teachers with years of experience in the Miami schools, if they oppose the trade union concept, now face a miserable choice of alternatives: They can join the CTA and pay $60 a year in dues to a union they despise, or they can remain aloof and be denied any effective voice in the formation of professional policies. Such dilemmas may be familiar in industrial employment; they are novel, and they are damned ugly, in the classrooms of our public schools.

As this is written, the Dade County Education Association—the non-striking group—has won a court order temporarily suspending application of the most onerous provisions of the new agreement. The Miami School Board will be reconstituted this month with three newly elected members; conceivably the memorandum may be revised along less oppressive lines. Nevertheless, a heavy-handed precedent has been set in the nation's seventh largest school system. What now distinguishes the teacher from the longshoreman? Anything at all?

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Yorty Takes Strong Stand

The Communists and the Campus Outbreaks

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

When you go after Communists, you take a chance. The late Sen. Joe McCarthy gave his enemies their opportunity to overwhelm him when he kept changing the number of Communist infiltrators he said were in the State Department. So, when Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles comes out with the flat statement that outbreaks of student body unrest on campuses in the Los Angeles area "have been master-minded, instigated and sponsored" by identified Communist party members, he is courting political destruction if he is wrong.

The mayor, like Joe McCarthy, is there with the numbers. But, unlike Joe, he is also there with the names. His boldness with the specifics invites libel suits—and it will be interesting to see if any are forthcoming. It is my bet that Sam Yorty, a canny fellow, will not be caught as Joe McCarthy was caught.

The mayor and his staff worked five months in preparing their documented charges. Briefly, the mayor says that an identified Communist was a primary organizer of the demonstrations that greeted President Lyndon Johnson at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles on June 23, 1967, with a small riot; that financial support for a Black Congress rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena to raise money to defend Black Panther Huey Newton on a murder charge was supplied by a member of the Communist party (the check, says Yorty, was for $2,000); that 17 persons at the Sports Arena rally were "identified or professed officials or members of the Communist party or other Communist organizations" (the mayor names all of them); that 14 party members were among the agitators who demonstrated against Lyndon Johnson (again, Sam Yorty obliges with the names); that a new Los Angeles "Black Power" newspaper is edited by a Communist.

Mayor Yorty has placed his evidence, names, numbers and all, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington. In turn, he quotes both the House investigators and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover on the subject of radical penetration of the protest movements. The trouble here is that the charge of "Communist" isn't enough to cover a strange reality in which hard-core activists casually indicate that they consider the Communist party members a bunch of squares. To be truly revolutionary today you must go beyond the Communists.

Even as far back as 1965, "students" were raising turmoil on the nation's campuses. Here, demonstrators show their appreciation for free speech by blocking the car of then U.S. Ambassador to South Viet Nam Maxwell Taylor.

For example, when Donald Kalish, chairman of the UCLA Philosophy Department, was interviewed by Phil Green of Los Angeles radio station KLAC on June 24, 1967, Kalish said, "I am far to the left of the Communist party. Lots of people belong to Progressive Labor, Trotskyites, Dorothy Healy Communists, and some of us, as I say, are much more extreme than them, and I'm one of them, in our political views."

The fact that young Maoists, Trotskyites and anarchists think of themselves to the left of the Communist party does not invalidate Mayor Yorty's point that Communist manipulation of the young is something worth investigating. "A full-scale federal inquiry," says the mayor, "is urgently needed to inform the American public of the extent of this Communist involvement in our academic institutions and to seek remedial legislation to control it."

If such an inquiry showed the Communist party actually limping behind the "new type of subversive" that J. Edgar Hoover finds in Students for a Democratic Society—or, as Al Capp calls it, Students for a Decomposing Society—we would be that much ahead of the game. When Mayor Yorty can quote a national officer of the SDS saying that the goal of his organization is to "build a guerrilla force in an urban environment" and "actively organize sedition," the country should know how many SDS members are revolutionaries and how many go along for kicks.

One trouble with trying to deal with the guerrillas by federal inquiry is that the new radical breed is a don't-give-a-damn type. Unlike the Communists of Joe McCarthy's day, the new radical does not try to hide behind the 5th Amendment. If you investigate him, he thanks you for giving him a stage for a clown act. Still, an investigation would be useful, for it would identify the guerrillas for everyone to see. Short of an investigation, one might suggest that our police handle guerrillas in the same spirit of surrealist comedy that our Jerry Rubins and Abbie Hoffmans invoke. They could be arrested, like Coxey's Army of the '90s, for walking on the grass.

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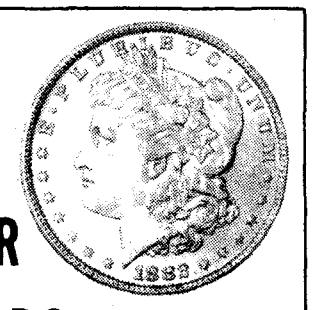

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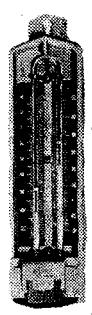

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The Businessman—Hero or Villain?

By DR. WILLIAM H. PETERSON

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Item: "The hero," said Thomas Carlyle to a London audience in 1840, "can be poet, prophet, king, priest or what you will, according to the kind of world he finds himself born into." Significantly, in the midst of the Industrial Revolution, in the midst of probably the greatest single—and still ongoing—surge of material well-being for the ordinary citizen, Carlyle did not mention the businessman among his possible heroes.

Item: In the 1880s social philosophers Herbert Spencer in England and William Graham Sumner in America viewed the businessman as a most creative and vital member of society. In the same period Horatio Alger's rags-to-riches novels, largely on successful businessman heroes, reached their zenith in popularity.

Item: Each of the 450 freshmen at Antioch College in 1964 was asked to name his personal hero—i.e., any 20th Century person whom he most admired. The top 10 heroes of 104 named were Mohandas Gandhi, John F. Kennedy, Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Martin Luther King, Albert Schweitzer, Bertrand Russell, Eleanor Roosevelt, Albert Einstein and Woodrow Wilson. Yet not a single one of the 104 turned out to be a Carnegie, Ford, McCormick, Nobel, Rothschild, Rockefeller, Morgan, of any other industrialist or financier. In other words, no Antioch freshman viewed any businessman as his hero although, probably, many fathers of the freshmen are businessmen.

So, even though the businessman has had his ups as well as downs in public esteem since 1840, his image at this hour of history still appears less than wholesome and constructive.

Business in Low Esteem

For example, Amherst College reports 48 per cent of its alumni are businessmen, but fewer than 20 per cent of recent graduates have been entering business. Again, Harvard University reports only 14 per cent of its class of 1964 planned business careers, down from 39 per cent five years earlier, although part of this decline may be attributed to the growing popularity of working for advanced degrees.

Said, in a typical vein, Arthur Lyon Dahl, a June 1964 graduate of Stanford University, of his classmates: "I know of almost no one who even considered a business career." This situation seems to betray an ambivalent business image and does not bode well for the prospects of freedom and free enterprise. Images are important; they reveal our thinking, our creeds, our inner conflicts; they influence our actions.

Now, if the word on the campus is that business is for the birds, if the word elsewhere is that the businessman is to be regarded as a suspicious creature who must be publicly controlled if he is to be privately tolerated, it follows that the climate for business will hardly be conducive to the full flowering of trade and investment or, more importantly, of individual values and human liberty.

Hence, saint or sinner, oracle or ogre, hero or hellion: What is the proper image of the businessman in a free society? The inquiry is fraught with some complications.

For one, I think his image varies with the era, its values, and especially its intellectuals. Intellectuals are crucial in the art of image-making. And as a rule the intellectual, from Plato and Aristotle on, has rarely turned a kindly eye on the businessman, as may be inferred, for example, from the ancient and medieval castigations against usury and trade. In a typical vein, Cicero wrote in his *De Officiis*: "Those who buy to sell again as soon as they can are to be accounted as vulgar; for they can make no profit except by a certain amount of falsehood, and nothing is meaner than falsehood."

Similarly, from that durable milieu of what von Mises calls "the anti-capitalistic mentality," one should note the introduction to the Modern Library edition (1937) of *Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations*. For in this most popular edition in the United States and Canada, an edition read by countless college students, the introduction is made by Max Lerner, who does not hide his dissympathy with the business system, notwithstanding the fact that the Adam Smith work is a classic in defense of capitalism.

Lerner labels Smith as "an unconscious mercenary in the service of the rising capitalist class," holds that Smith gave "a new dignity to greed and a new sanctification to the predatory impulses," maintains that the father of modern economics developed his essentially labor theory of value awkwardly and hence: "It remained for Marx to refine it, convert it into an instrument of analysis, and extract from it the revolutionary implications that were inherent in it from the start."

Keynes, giant of economic theory in this century and image-maker extraordinary, also seemed to have had little love for the businessman. Free private investment, he held, swings on "the nerves and hysteria and even the digestions" of private investors, on "whim or sentiment or chance"; and "enterprise only pretends to itself to be mainly actuated by the statements in its own prospectus."

Well, if businessmen are so whimsical, nervous, hysterical, pretentious and untrustworthy to invest for the general welfare, what then? Keynes gives his prophetic answer: "I expect to see the State, which is in a position to calculate the marginal efficiency of capital good on long views and on the basis of the general social advantage, taking an ever greater responsibility for directly organizing investment."

Plainly, then, to many thinking people, especially intellectuals and college and university students, business does not come across as a preferred institution among other social institutions in a free society. Plainly the businessman is not always regarded as a constructive, forward-looking member of the community.

Apparently the typical college student prefers to enter teaching social work, scientific research, government work, the Peace Corps, or the professions of medicine, law, architecture, etc. Apparently many a student—and professor—looks upon business as little more than a dog-eat-dog world, dominated by the law of the jungle, corrupted by the drive for profit, and blind to almost every decent human value; and many other students and professors view business as a world of superficiality and conformity, a treadmill on which the individual gets nowhere and says nothing.

Yet a big rub with such views of business and, indeed, with the whole problem of the image of the businessman, boils down to this: Precisely what is a businessman? For business is an extremely protean and equivocal term and what people commonly assume to be a "businessman" may be altogether too arbitrary and too narrow a view. So much so that perhaps with a clearer understanding of just what a businessman is and what he is trying to do, the public may, hopefully, adopt a better image of him. But realistic, meaningful and broadly applicable definitions of business—a word derived from "busy"—are hard to come by (as are, by the way, definitions for work and labor).

For example, the editors of the four-volume *World of Business* (1962)—editor Edward C. Bursk of the *Harvard Business Review*, librarian Donald T. Clark, and business professor Ralph W. Hidy; all members of the Harvard faculty—concede that business is not easy to define and wind up not defining it.

Similarly, Beardsley Ruml in his *Tomorrow's Business* (1945) also admits that defining business raises problems.

For example, he is not sure whether farmers and professional people can be properly classed as businessmen. Still, his definition appears broad enough to include them, viz: "This is the business of business: First, to get things ready for use; second, to provide people with purposeful activity; and, third, to give people a way to save productively a part of what they earn."

In my judgment the only workable definition of a businessman is necessarily a broad one, in that it should cover executives and entrepreneurs, bankers and sole proprietors, merchants and industrialists, professional men and newspapermen. Indeed, who in this advanced age of division of labor doesn't "profess" some specialization, some marketable skill?

Hence a more satisfactory definition of a businessman would appear to be simply that of a person who is continuously engaged in voluntary trade or exchange of goods or services, including his own, for profit. The two key words here are "voluntary" and "profit."

Voluntary involves choice for both the buyer and the seller, and means free, without coercion, and would be inapplicable to individual economic action under socialism. Profit—the term derives from the Latin *profectus*, meaning an improvement or advance—means benefit or gain, not necessarily pecuniary gain, and as a goal recognizes that human action is motivated directly or indirectly by profit, including psychic profit, or conversely, by the avoidance of loss, including psychic loss.

Public Controls Results

Socially, profit is a means of control and a measure of usefulness. The successful corporation is a demonstration of social worthiness; the unsuccessful corporation is a demonstration of social unworthiness. So through profit-and-loss signals the public rewards success, penalizes inefficiency and controls investment—and businessmen—providing them with strong incentives to adjust to society's wishes. Thus do private incentives and business policy strongly tend to reflect the public interest.

Under a broad definition of businessman, then, everyone from the street vendor to the head of General Motors or American Telephone and Telegraph is a businessman. And so, at least in some degree, is the accountant, actor, architect, artist, carpenter, doctor, engineer, musician, newspaperman, plumber and, ironically, the intellectual—the writer, scientist, professor, playwright, etc. Each of these craftsmen sells his labor in the open market and buys goods and services on his own account.

Frequently the motivation in these buying and selling activities is pecuniary. But even if not—and money, it must be remembered, is *not* an end in itself—it is still profit-oriented. The professor seeks gain in the form of the advancement of knowledge and the spread of education, the musician profits from musical enjoyment by himself and others; the physician derives psychic income from making sick people well; and so on.

Thus, as businessman Donald C. Cook, of the American Electric Power Co., observed in his "Intellect and Business: The Dialogue and the Challenge," the seventh annual Business Leadership Lecture at the University of Michigan in 1964, every intellectual is in some degree a profit-oriented businessman and lives in a world shaped by business. Equally, every businessman worthy of his calling is in part an intellectual and is moved by the great ideas of his time. Each—intellectual and businessman—helps to create conditions to which the other responds; each is the customer of the other, giving and taking, buying and selling, and sharing generally.

Power of the Purse

At any rate, under a broad definition of the businessman, many in a free economy who do not consider themselves businessmen are actually already very much in business. Perhaps recognition of this broader definition could bring about an updated version of Moliere's gentleman who discovered that he had been talking in prose all of his life.

In other words, the public, hopefully, could come to the realization that practically everyone, male and female, young and old, rich and poor, is in business in one way or another, that in the words of Shakespeare, "every man has business and desire, such as it is." Even the housewife is in business for, when you think about it, the average American family currently earns and largely spends some $8,000 annually which, if multiplied by 45 years of employment, comes to better than one-third of a million dollars—and that's quite a business. Thus, every "worker," through his labor and the power of his purse, is at once a producer and consumer, a buyer and seller, an employe and employer, a customer and supplier.

The point is that if everybody is to some significant extent in business, is a part of business and must carry out business functions in their daily life, it follows that he is part businessman, that a widely held negative image of the businessman is incongruous and not a little masochistic. Can one logically find fault with a segment of society for doing what the whole of society is at least in part already doing and, indeed, must do?

Too, the easy identification of the businssman as the boss does not seem to be overly logical with far-reaching division of labor and social cooperation. For, in the final analysis, every free agent from office boy to chairman of the board works for the same boss—the consumer. To be sure, the office boy may report to the office manager and the chairman of the board to the board of directors and the stockholders, but all take—including the "independent" businessman, the man who says he is his own boss—their ultimate orders from

(Continued on page 14)

Dr. Peterson, a professor of economics at New York University from 1953 to 1964, now works in private industry.

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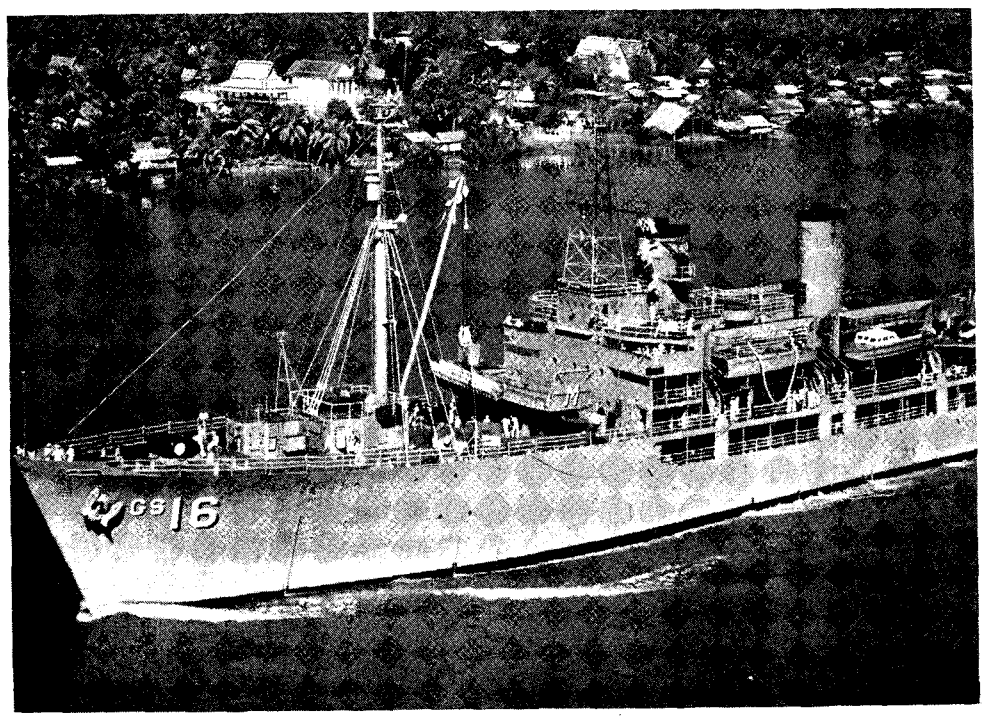

The USS Maury, a hydrographic survey ship, cruises past Bangkok, Thailand. Mrs. Widener, in arguing against U.N. control of deepsea exploitation, wonders how the U.S. space program would fare under international supervision.

The Case Against A U.N. 'Ocean Regime'

By ALICE WIDENER

Courageously, J. Howard Rambin Jr., chairman of Texaco, Inc., has spoken out against a proposed United Nations treaty establishing an international regime over the ocean seabeds to exploit and control their wealth "for the benefit of mankind," especially of the so-called underdeveloped nations. Mr. Rambin warns us that the United States must continue to protect not only the American mineral preserve on the continental shelves but also our national interests in the oceans beyond.

A United Nations Ocean Regime would be subject to conflicting national interests making it incapable of properly developing and administering the resources of undersea areas, explains Mr. Rambin. He is more than entirely correct; he is wise, practical and farsighted.

Surely the time has come when even the most starry-eyed idealist in our country should recognize the political and economic ineptitude of the United Nations. Its own president of the General Assembly denounced it recently for the "emotionalism" and "partisanship" of the members, many of whom are ready at any moment to ride roughshod over any provision of the U.N. Charter that runs contrary to their whims and passions.

If a U.N. Ocean Regime had been proposed in 1945 before the ink on the Charter was dry and the United Nations organization was more of a concept than reality, it would have been understandable for Americans to consent to a U.N. Ocean Regime. But the U.N. is now almost a quarter-century old and we have had plenty of time to observe the way it works. Today, even its staunchest liberal supporters, such as Lester Pearson of Canada, realize that the U.N. is a hamstrung bureaucratic organization incapable of unity and efficiency. Americans have learned the hard and expensive way that the U.N. is impotent in important political and economic affairs.

For us to go down the U.N. road again, this time along the undersea path to disillusion, would be idiotic. We would deserve all the sick disappointments we are sure to suffer. Now is the time for all good Americans to rally to Mr. Rambin's leadership, and to support of our National Oceanography Association which strongly opposes U.N. control over the seabeds. So does the United States Navy, whose brave men and officers are contributing so heroically to our oceanography.

Right now is the time for all good Americans to rally their forces for defeat of any treaty involving United Nations control over resources of the seabeds. Naturally, all international Socialists are in favor of a U.N. Ocean Regime and are making plans that would rob us of our national wealth and marvelous benefits of our own scientific research, technology and leadership in oceanography.

Perhaps the best argument against a U.N. Ocean Regime is its ideological support by the Fund for the Republic's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif. It recently published "The Ocean Regime" by Elisabeth Mann Borgese, an article full of all the soft-headed platitudes and cliches used by Socialists seeking to seduce Americans into worldwide giveaways.

Mrs. Borgese suggests a U.N. planning agency to structure an Ocean Decade. She has the temerity to do this at the very moment when we are almost at the end of the tragically unsuccessful U.N. Development Decade, a period in which backward nations, under U.N. aegis, were supposed "to make a century of progress in a decade." Instead, almost all of them went further backwards, their leaders deluded by intoxicating U.N. phrases such as "the revolution of rising expectations."

Our national survival may be at stake in the vital field of oceanography. The inventiveness, bravery and brilliance of our American oceanographers is equal to that of our space scientists and astronauts. Imagine what our space program would have been under a U.N. regime!

Mr. Rambin is right. Let's keep our oceanography program in our own hands. We should not sacrifice an iota of our national sovereignty over our own continental sea shelves and adjacent ocean beds.

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The Ten Pillars of Economic Wisdom

As the new Congress begins, it is a good time to reprint the following principles as stated by the American Economic Foundation:

1. Nothing in our material world can come from nowhere or go nowhere, nor can it be free: everything in our economic life has a source, a destination and a cost that must be paid.

2. Government is never a source of goods. Everything produced is produced by the people, and everything that government gives to the people, it must first take from the people.

3. The only valuable money that government has to spend is that money taxed or borrowed out of the people's earnings. When government decides to spend more than it has thus received, that extra unearned money is created out of thin air, through the banks, and, when spent, takes on value only by reducing the value of all money, savings and insurance.

4. In our modern exchange economy, all payroll and employment come from customers, and the only worthwhile job security is customer security; if there are no customers, there can be no payroll and no jobs.

5. Customer security can be achieved by the worker only when he cooperates with management in doing the things that win and hold customers. Job security, therefore, is a partnership problem that can be solved only in a spirit of understanding and cooperation.

6. Because wages are the principal cost of everything, widespread wage increases, without corresponding increases in production, simply increase the cost of everybody's living.

7. The greatest good for the greatest number means, in its material sense, the greatest goods for the greatest number which, in turn, means the greatest productivity per worker.

8. All productivity is based on three factors: (*1*) natural resources, whose form, place and condition are changed by the expenditure of (*2*) human energy (both muscular and mental), with the aid of (*3*) tools.

9. Tools are the only one of these three factors that man can increase without limit, and tools come into being in a free society only when there is a reward for the temporary self-denial that people must practice in order to channel part of their earnings away from purchases that produce immediate comfort and pleasure, and into new tools of production. Proper payment for the use of tools is essential to their creation.

10. The productivity of the tools—that is, the efficiency of the human energy applied in connection with their use—has always been highest in a competitive society in which the economic decisions are made by millions of progress-seeking individuals, rather than in a state-planned society in which those decisions are made by a handful of all-powerful people, regardless of how well-meaning, unselfish, sincere and intelligent those people may be.

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LBJ Should Resist Temptation

Now Is No Time for a Summit Meeting

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

President Johnson's very human determination to have one last talk with the Kremlin leaders before he leaves office is one thing. The wisdom of it—and the limitations it could clamp on President-elect Nixon—is quite another.

The problem of peace in our pressure-cooker world is not the making of more agreements with the Soviet leaders. It is to get them to live up to the agreements they have already made.

Apologists for Communist imperialism, persistently brainwashing us, have distracted us from recognizing this as the true problem. And, with the advent of the Nixon Administration, the Kremlin leaders are pumping out enough hot air to float the Navy blimp corps. But the problem, nevertheless, is the guts of our difficulty with the Red bloc. It began instantly at the end of World War II and has continued through five American Presidents to this very day.

Stalin asked President Roosevelt at Yalta how long he expected to keep our troops in Europe. The President answered not more than two years. But 23 years have passed and Soviet aggressions, most lately in the brutal 1968 reconquest of Czechoslovakia, have forced us to keep our forces in Europe.

On Oct. 2, 1945, at Berlin the Kremlin pledged to President Truman "uniformity of the German population throughout Germany." By June 24, 1948, the Soviet had blockaded Berlin and we had to operate the Berlin airlift to keep the free area of Berlin from starving.

Yet preposterously, Premier Aleksei Kosygin had no hesitancy in bringing up the German question within the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement in President Johnson's last meeting with him at Glassboro on June 25, 1967.

It is the same on the other side of the world. The Soviet waited until we defeated Japan before conveniently entering the war. The Reds' painless extraction of $1 billion in industrial equipment from Manchuria promptly followed. Then Soviet stooge Mao Tse-tung "negotiated" at a summit meeting with China President Chiang Kai-shek, whom he had not seen for 20 years, until during the course of the meeting his Reds took over strategic control of China.

The Chinese Communists have never laid down their arms since the 1930s and the attacks from Java to Saigon are all a part of the same sweeping aggression. Who was it that split Korea, overran Tibet and despoiled Laos and Cambodia? Who threatens Thailand and Singapore? Who invaded India? And, admittedly, did not the Communist coup in Indonesia fail only because of the free world resistance in Viet Nam?

After breaking every agreement he had made with President Eisenhower at Camp David, Premier Nikita Khrushchev bullied President Eisenhower at Paris and then bullied President Kennedy at Vienna.

Well established in Cuba, the Soviet shifted its aggressions from Cuba to Viet Nam. Now the Kremlin is telling President Johnson that we must accept defeat in Viet Nam and trade our NATO alliance for a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Yet what is the Soviet itself doing in Viet Nam?

The USSR is supplying all—all—the petroleum, gasoline, grease and weapons systems. The Kremlin is supplying all the MIG planes. Russia not only installed the entire vast North Vietnamese anti-aircraft defense network, but maintains and supports much of it with Soviet "technicians."

More than 5,000 Soviet ground-to-air missiles (SAMs) have been fired at our planes by this Soviet personnel, according to House Armed Services Committee members who returned recently from Viet Nam.

The Soviet supplies four-fifths of all the explosives and munitions used against us; 80 per cent of all the bullets, mines, bombs and shells of all kinds.

By common consent Hanoi could not continue the war for 30 days without Soviet support.

The Kremlin, obtaining generous compromises from our Presidents at summit meetings, brings the reconciliation to nothing by treating the compromises as a sign of U.S. weakness.

This is no time for President Johnson to meet with the Kremlin leaders. That time can come only if the new Nixon Administration can talk from a strong position after putting our American diplomatic, military and economic house in order.

President Johnson should know by now—assuredly Mr. Nixon knows—that the Soviet is not a leopard with a spot-remover.

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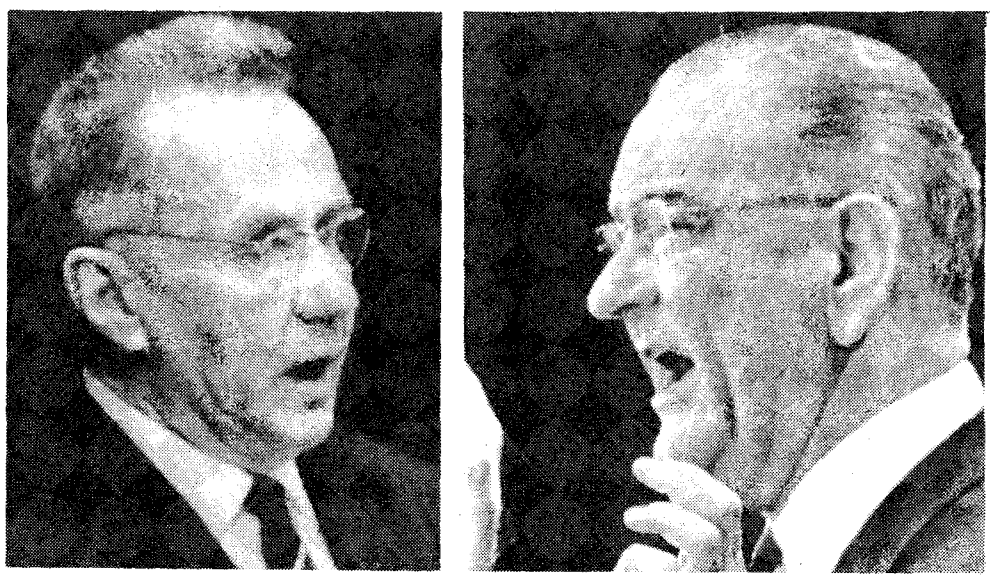

LBJ (right) is toying with the idea of meeting with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, but past history indicates this would be a poor way to end his Administration.

Continued from Page 12

Businessman—Hero or Villain?

the customer, the quite sovereign consumer.

The customer, as merchant John Wanamaker noted, is always right, ever the final court of appeal. It was Grandfather who, in effect, put the buggy whip manufacturer out of business when he bought a Model T. It was the consumer who made Henry Ford big, who did in the Stanley Steamer and the Stutz Bearcat. It was Mother who did in, economically, the ice man when she bought a refrigerator. It is today's consumer who makes board rooms quake through his purchases and non-purchases. It is through this power of purchase and non-purchase that democratically the consumer in effect directs business, hires and fires people, and generally puts the nation's resources to work.

Of course, consumer sovereignty as a concept has not been widely accepted by the intellectual who, for that matter, frequently does not also seem to be especially aware of the highly pervasive nature of business. Still the intellectual's criticism of business and businessmen has served at times to correct abuses, to redress needful balances and to maintain humanistic and esthetic values. Unfortunately, the criticism has, on occasion, also induced so-called "reforms" which have been harmful to the business system—and to the consumer.

To take an extreme example, intellectual Karl Marx, who regarded businessmen as inhuman exploiters in the 19th Century, helped to bring about the Communist Revolution in the 20th Century. On the other hand, in the 18th Century intellectual Adam Smith saw the businessman as a creative and vitally necessary member of society, and helped to establish the Industrial Revolution and the capitalistic order which still prevails in the Western world today.

I agree with the Smith view and hold the correct image of the businessman is neither that of hero nor villain. Businessmen can be good; they can be bad. They run the gamut of the moral spectrum. Businessmen have founded museums, universities, hospitals, charities, foundations, etc., while serving in their main social function of promoting, organizing and managing production to create goods and jobs. Some black sheep businessmen, to be sure, have indeed engaged in coercion, theft and misrepresentation.

So a generalized hero or villain image of the businessman is not, in my judgment, tenable. A good image is tenable, however, because in the construct of the business system it is clearly in the interest of the businessman to give his best to his customers—i.e., to society—or else his competitors will, or his profits will fail.

As Adam Smith pointed out, we do not speak to the butcher and the brewer of our need but rather of their advantage. To go back to an idea in the lecture by Mr. Cook: If a cynical Russian were to characterize members of our Peace Corps as underpaid public relations men, helping to build capitalist markets for tractors and soft drinks, the intellectual would immediately spot a distorted view. But what would be the reaction to the soft drink salesman in Iraq and the tractor salesman in Iran? Are they viewed as expressions of man's creative will and dedication to service?

In any event, I believe the proper image of the businessman is neither that of knave nor knight, villain nor hero. He has a job to do for society and he does it. He is under the social discipline of profit and loss, under the iron rule of the consumer. And he should think well of his calling. For as Alfred North Whitehead spoke of the Great Society before that phrase became fashionable: "A great society is a society in which its men of business think greatly of their functions." It follows, then, that with a better understanding of the businessman, everybody should have a better image of him—and of business.

□□□

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The Failure of 'Community Control'

From the Bulletin *of the Council for Basic Education*

Education, like dress, follows the fashions. This is especially true in the ghetto, where our educational designers bring out a new model almost every year. One year it may be pupil busing; another year, metropolitanism; still another, educational parks. This has been the year of "community control," and, like its predecessors, it is presented as a model guaranteed to revolutionize ghetto education.

Community control is not actually very widespread, although it has its powerful backers in the new educational establishment, especially at the Ford Foundation.

The principal experiments are taking place in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district in Brooklyn, the Intermediate School 201 complex in Harlem, and at the Morgan School in the District of Columbia. What has made the issue so dramatic, and attracted national attention to community control, is the unhappy violence that has accompanied the Ocean Hill-Brownsville efforts. Community control may soon expire, a victim of this violence; or like past models, it may simply give way to another and of course "improved" model of educational reform. In the meantime it is very much with us and the issues the present experiments raise need to be examined.

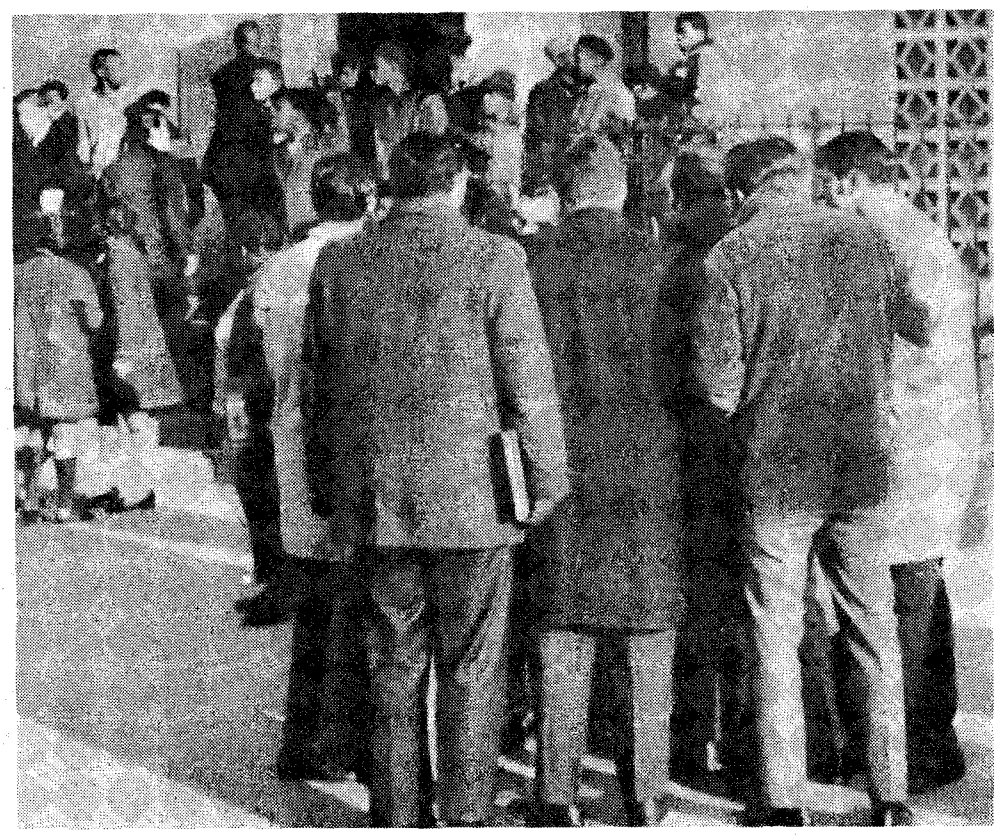
Its advocates claim that community control can be a useful instrument for change in ghetto education. It can, they claim, be an effective way to decentralize the schools; it can demonstrate the importance of lay participation in education; and it can be a force for improving the curriculum. Looking at community control as it is presently constituted, we have some grave doubts that it can make positive contributions to any of these desired changes.

Take the matter of decentralization. Everybody agrees that big-city school systems are unwieldy to the point of chaos and should be broken down into more manageable administrative units.

Central vs. Local Control

It would undoubtedly be a healthy thing if New York City's school system, for example, were broken up into several districts, perhaps one for each of the five boroughs, each competing with the others in an effort to maintain and improve educational standards.

Rhody McCoy is a leader in the "black administration" of the Brooklyn schools.



Striking teachers cluster around the entrance to JHS 271 in the controversial Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn. The CBE notes that such educational gimmicks as teaching Swahili can only retard the Negro educational process. This is one danger of the "community control" concept's being carried too far.

This is not the sort of decentralization envisioned by the Ford Foundation, the Bundy Report, or by those presently in charge of community control. They want to continue to draw financial support from the city but want individual neighborhood schools, or small clusters of schools, under complete local control, which would include the hiring and firing of teachers and administrators. One may be repelled by the arrogance and sheer materialism exhibited in recent months by the New York City teachers' union, but at the same time one can understand the union's alarm, or any teacher's alarm, at the lack of safeguards for teachers in the new schemes for community control.

It is a question whether creating hundreds of little fiefdoms will not produce just as much chaos, of a different sort, as we now have under central control. The effect of local control may well be to forward the interests, and prejudices, of particular neighborhoods rather than the interests of children and learning. Community control in Ocean Hill-Brownsville obviously has an anti-white bias.

If, and when, community control becomes widespread, what is to prevent schools in some white neighborhoods from becoming anti-Catholic, anti-left or right? Decentralization is important, yes; but in any scheme of decentralization there ought to be some built-in protection against special interest groups. Such protection seems entirely lacking in community control as presently practiced.

Is intelligent lay participation in the affairs of the schools advanced by community control? Looking at the present experiments one is inclined to say no and to conclude that what is sought is not lay participation but lay dominance.

Although the Council for Basic Education has always urged that parents play a greater role than they have in the past in influencing school policy and programs, we have never been foolish enough to suggest that they run the schools. Their opinions on school matters, including curriculum, may be valid and certainly should be listened to by educators who often pretend that schooling is too esoteric for lay understanding. Undoubtedly in many schools there are unsympathetic or incompetent administrators and teachers, but the situation is not going to be corrected by putting incompetent parents in charge.

Teaching, the primary business of schools, is a professional art that calls for training, experience, knowledge; and parents rarely have the time or inclination to acquire this art. Incidentally, the proponents of community control in the ghetto display an ironic inconsistency. They tell us on the one hand that ghetto children come from deprived homes where the parents are poorly educated or even illiterate; on the other hand, they assure us that these same parents are capable of taking over control.

Reform Attempts Made

Can community control improve the curriculum, and more specifically, can it be a force in removing illiteracy, the imperative need among ghetto children? Conceivably it could, and certainly at Ocean Hill-Brownsville and at the Morgan School in Washington there is brave talk about "quality education," and some efforts are being made to get down to the hard work that instructional reform entails. In the former district there apparently have been some attempts made at reform through the introduction of new reading programs, and at one school the Bereiter-Engelmann program, which is non-permissive and stresses drill, is said to have been introduced. But there is also lots of talk about "relevance," which has come to mean, educationally, that schools ought to concern themselves with the immediate interests of the students rather than stress what they need academically. At the same time there is, inconsistently, a demand to teach about the African heritage and to introduce courses in Swahili, a linguistic hybrid that arose out of the slave trade. If Swahili is worth teaching—we doubt it—somebody ought to point out that illiteracy in one's own language is poor equipment for learning another. The whole back-to-Africa bit is probably boring to most American Negroes; they want to act and feel like Americans, and be a part of the American heritage, if we will let them.

These experimental schools could, if properly conducted, take justifiable pride in raising standards and improving the instructional program, thereby demonstrating what we believe is the fact, that poor Negro children can learn even when forced into segregation. Perhaps this will happen, but one is not encouraged when one observes some of the people who are active in these experimental schools. Unfortunately, some of those in charge are militants and extremists who want to use the schools for political "confrontation." Others seem less anxious to see Negroes learn than to have them assert their "life-style," to use the sociologists' jargon, or what is sometimes called "soul."

Frankly, we don't think "soul" is worth asserting. We suspect that the whole idea of "soul" comes from the white man; it derives from his traditional picture of the Negro as part innocent child, part noble savage, part evangelistic shouter and emotional hysteric.

Special Interests Involved

If we may join in the universal practice of offering gratuitous advice to the Negro, we urge him not to accept the white man's folklore and sentimentality about the black man, especially in teaching the young. Negroes ought not to accept the racist notion that Negro ghetto children are fundamentally different (except in opportunities offered) from other children. We believe community control of education will never be very effective until the political extremists and the romantic soul-brothers ply their trade elsewhere and leave teachers and parents to concentrate together on teaching the Negro child not only as a member of the black race but of the human race.

A discouraging aspect of much current advocacy of educational change is that it is so often a thin disguise to hide the struggles of special interest groups. This seems true of much of the movement for the unionization of teachers which, despite noble talk from its advocates about benefitting children, is largely a movement to advance and protect the teacher's material position and the power of union leaders.

Special interest also seems present in the movement to increase educational technology in the schools, a movement where it is not easy to distinguish disinterested research from commercial greed. And so it is with community control. In the present stage of the movement's development it is doubtful if the children are receiving educational benefits or the parents are increasing their influence in the schools.

What is happening is that ideologues are trying to use community control for non-educational purposes. They are using the schools as a weapon in social revolution or as a retreat into a separatism based on romantic myths about the Negro character. We hope that community control of this sort will not succeed. Certainly it does not deserve to succeed.

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Why the Foreign Money Crisis Could Trigger the Next Depression

AND HOW YOU CAN PROTECT YOUR LIFE SAVINGS

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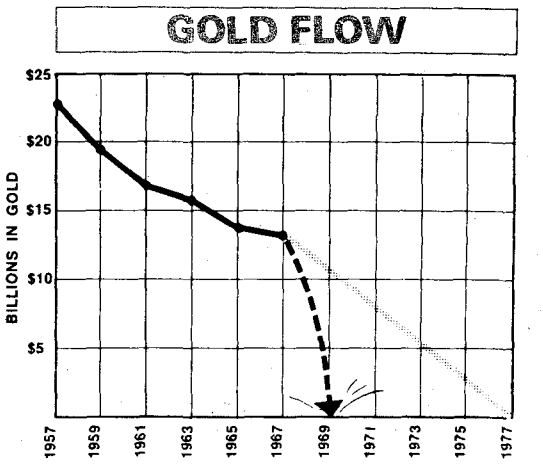

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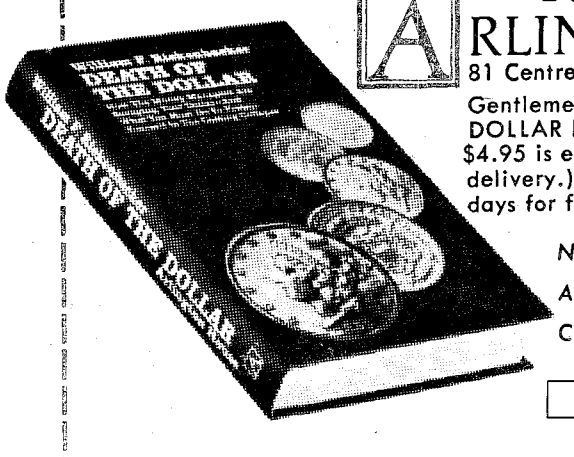

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